

Victoria R. J.

COLLECTION
OF VICTORIAN BOOKS

AT
BRIGHAM YOUNG
UNIVERSITY

Victorian
915.2
M316h
1841



BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY



3 1197 22886 3756

E. S. bartwright-



MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

J A P A N E S E,

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:

FROM

**THE ACCOUNTS OF RECENT DUTCH RESIDENTS IN
JAPAN, AND FROM THE GERMAN WORK OF
DR. PH. FR. VON SIEBOLD.**

NEW YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS.

329 & 331 PEARL STREET,

FRANKLIN SQUARE.



Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1841, by

HARPER & BROTHERS,

In the Clerk's Office of the Southern District of New York

1843

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE is no people with any claims to civilization of whom so little is known as of the Japanese. Their policy in regard to foreigners is even more jealous and exclusive than that of the Chinese ; the Dutch being the only Europeans allowed to trade with them, and their intercourse being extremely limited, and subject to severe restrictions. Within the last two or three years several publications have appeared in Holland, by members of the Dutch factory, descriptive of the institutions, character &c., of that most singular people. These, however, have not been translated, and this is the first attempt to present to the English or American reader a compendium of the curious and interesting facts which they contain. The English copy has been carefully revised and corrected, and the work will be found, from the novelty of its matter and on other accounts, exceedingly entertaining.

H. & B.

New-York, June, 1841.

740933133333

THE LIBRARY
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY.
PROVO, UTAH

P R E F A C E.

WHILE English travellers are almost overwhelming the British public with information concerning the most remote, savage, and least interesting regions of the globe, there is an extensive, populous, and highly, though peculiarly, civilized empire, which remains as much a *terra incognita* now as it was a hundred years ago. Japan has for two centuries (that is, since the expulsion of the Portuguese, and the simultaneous suppression of Christianity in 1640) been hermetically closed against foreigners of all climes, Asiatics as well as Europeans, with the exception of one Chinese and one Dutch factory, both established in the same seaport town, where they are shut out from the rest of the place, and jealously watched; and where the members of the Dutch factory, of which alone we know anything, have, from the same suspicious policy, been gradually reduced in number, and their visits to the capital proportionably restricted. During this long period no intelligence has been attainable respecting this secluded insular empire, except as some scientific physician, attached to the Dutch factory as its medical attendant, has gleaned such scanty facts as he could obtain from his Japanese acquaintance, in violation of their oaths to reveal nothing; and this meager information.

communicated to the European public, instead of satisfying, has only stimulated its curiosity to know more of a country so remarkable for the originality of its political institutions, the peculiar character of its people, and a form of civilization neither European nor Asiatic, but apparently wholly indigenous.

Of late, however, this state of ignorance has undergone some modification. The spirit of commercial enterprise has excited other countries, as Russia, America, and England, to seek to participate with the Hollanders in the trade of Japan. These attempts have, indeed, effected little more than to show the pertinacity of the Japanese in adhering to their determination to exclude foreigners from their shores. But the spirit of authorship which has recently inspired the members of the Dutch factory, has been more productive of information. As its fruits, we possess three different works in the Dutch language upon Japan, by officers of that establishment (to say nothing of Japanese books, historical and geographical, brought home in translation or in the original); besides which, Dr. Ph. Fr. von Siebold, a learned German, who, like his talented and indefatigable predecessors, Kæmpfer and Thunberg, held the situation of physician to the factory, and is inferior to neither of them in judgment and industry, has prosecuted his researches in relation to the institutions, character, &c., of the Japanese, under circumstances more favourable than have been enjoyed by any European since the expulsion of the Jesuits.

But of the recent information thus afforded, little has as yet reached this country. The differ-

ent works alluded to, being in a foreign language, must of course be in a great measure unknown to the British public ; while, from their peculiar character, they are but little calculated to tempt or reward the labour of the mere translator. It has therefore been thought desirable to gather from these sources such facts as were most likely to interest the general reader, supplying any farther information that might seem requisite to a full understanding of the political and social state of Japan from the older writers,* whose works, though rendered accessible by English versions, are, from their unattractive form, almost wholly unknown.

* See Note I.

B

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

BAY OF NAGASAKI.

Intercourse of the Dutch with Japan.—Voyage.—Shipwrecked Japanese.—Illegality and Danger of quitting their sinking Vessel.—Approach to Kiusiu.—Appearance of the Country.—Bay of Nagasaki.—Japanese Precautions prior to a Ship's entering the Bay—and on Shore.—Smuggling.—Exclusion of a President's Wife.—Reasons.—Personal Appearance of the Japanese.—Dress.—Ensigns of Rank.—Uses of the Fan . Page 13

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AT DEZIMA.

Artificial Island.—Factory.—Confinement of the Dutch therein.—Restrictions upon their Intercourse with Natives.—With Servants.—Female Servants.—Children by Japanese Women.—Restrictions upon their Dealings.—Management of the Trade.—Police.—Interpreters.—Intercourse with Men in Office.—Trampling upon the Picture of our Saviour.—Toleration and subsequent Persecution of Christianity.—Japanese Martyrs.—Anecdote of a wrecked Portuguese Brig.—Intercourse of subordinate Dignitaries.—Audiences of Governor of Nagasaki.—Dutch Sepulchres 26

CHAPTER III.

NAGASAKI AND ITS ENVIRONS.

Excursions permitted.—Conditions on which allowed.—Town of Nagasaki.—Houses.—Gardens.—Fire-proof Store-rooms.—Scenery.—Temples.—Tea-houses.—Visits.—Religious Festivals.—Japanese Demons.—Hunting Procession.—New Volcano 44

CHAPTER IV.

PERIODICAL JOURNEY TO YEDO.

Periods of the Yedo Journeys.—Preliminary Forms.—Numbers of the Party.—Honours paid to the Dutch President.—Array

of the Party. — Travelling Arrangements. — Sights upon the Road. — *Ikko-seu* Temple. — Camphor-tree. — Mineral and Hot Springs. — Prince of Tsikuzen's Apartment. — Coal-mine. — Mode of obtaining a Fair Wind. — Examination at Aray. — River Oyegawa. — Mountain Foesi. — Examination at Fakone. — Anecdote. — Arrival Page 62

CHAPTER V.

STAY AT YEDO.

Yedo. — Palace. — Visitors. — Physicians and Astronomers. — Grandees and Ladies. — Silk-merchant. — Conflagration. — Anecdote respecting new Lodgings. — Audience of the *Ziagoon*. — Ceremonious Visits. — Presents. — Forms in Kämpfer's time. — Japanese Fancy for Dutch Names. — Banquet 82

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN TO DEZIMA.

Taking leave at Yedo. — Miyako. — The *Mikado*. — His Dignity — Honours paid him. — His Abdication or Death. — His Wives. — His Reception of, and Visit to the *Ziagoon* at Miyako. — Learning of the *Dairi*. — Ohosaka. — Amusements. — Theatre — Plays. — Actors. — Strange intermingling of different Plays. — Arrival. — Dutch Distress during the interruption of intercourse with Java. — Japanese Endeavours to relieve it . . . 102

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

Condition of Women. — Naming of Infants. — Treatment of Children. — Education. — Abdomen ripping. — Evil Eye. — Change of Name. — Marriage. — Courtship. — Marriage-brokers. — Presents. — Wedding. — Abdication of Heads of Families. — Forms of Politeness. — Correspondence. — Presents. — Visits. — Banquets. — Tea-drinking. — Amusements. — Music. — Dancing. — Games. — Forfeits. — Intoxication. — Rural and Water Parties. — Retailers of Gossip, Teachers of Good Manners. — *Nayboen* or Concealed Death. — Ceremonies in the House of Death. — Obsequies. — Mourning 121

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL STATE OF JAPAN.

Government. — Peculiar Character of Japanese Despotism. — Feudal Tenures. — *Mikado*. — *Ziagoon*. — Council of State. — Its

Constitution and Power.—Governor of the Empire.—Consequence of a Difference of Opinion between the *Ziagoon* and the Council.—Vassal Princes.—Ministers forced upon them.—Annoyances to which they are subjected.—Modes of Impoverishment.—Lordships.—Imperial Governments.—Official Establishment at Nagasaki.—Municipal Authorities.—System of *Espionage*.—Its Effects.—Classification of the Japanese.—Princes.—Nobles.—Priests.—Military Tenants.—Inferior Officials and Medical Profession.—Superior Traders.—Inferior Traders, Artisans, and Artists.—Peasantry.—Degradation of Dealers in Leather.—Administration of Justice.—Executions.—Torture.—Prisons Page 141

CHAPTER IX.

ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHARACTER AND MANNERS OF THE JAPANESE.

The *Phaeton*, Captain Pellew, enters Nagasaki Bay.—Transactions there.—Japanese Governor's Plans.—Neglect of Duty Discovered.—The *Phaeton's* Departure.—Disastrous Results.—Siebold's Adventures.—Tchouya's Conspiracy.—Arrests.—His Wife's Presence of Mind.—He and his Friends tortured.—Sibata Zabrobi's Friendship.—Execution.—Yorinobon's Escape by his Secretary's Suicide.—Gratitude of his Posterity.—*Ziagoon's* Purpose of Illegal Adoption.—Minister's Fruitless Remonstrances.—*Midia's* Mode of Prevention.—Japanese *Lucretia*.—Minister Threatened.—His Good-humour.—Test of an Accountant's Qualifications.—Safe Mode of Nicknaming a Monarch.—Ingenuity of a Fisherman.—Its Reward.—Artificial Mermaid.—Curious Mode of Trial 164

CHAPTER X.

ATTEMPTS OF FOREIGNERS TO OPEN RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.

Hospitality towards Foreign Ships in the 18th Century.—American Attempts to open Intercourse.—Captain Stewart's Disasters and Schemes.—Baffled.—Shipwrecked Japanese sent from Macao.—Not Suffered to Land.—Russian Attempts.—Count Resanoff's Embassy.—Difficulties about Forms.—About Landing and Residence.—Audience.—Overtures Rejected.—Difficulties about Presents.—Resanoff's Resentment.—Hostile Invasion.—Consequent Degradation of the Prince of Matsmai.—Golownin's Expedition.—His Capture.—Odd Treatment.—Kindness of Japanese after his Evasion.—Release.—English Attempts.—Sir Stamford Raffles's Pacific Mission.—Foiled by the Dutch President.—Present Precautions 188

CHAPTER XI.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE OF THE JAPANESE.

The Language Original.—Grammar.—Alphabet.—Variety of Written Characters.—Their several Uses.—Printing.—Books.—Geography.—History.—Moral Philosophy.—Encyclopædias.—Poetry.—Specimens.—Science.—Medical.—Acupuncture and Moxa-burning.—Astronomy.—Whimsical Measurement and Division of Time.—Cycles.—Year.—Hours of the Day and Night.—Odd System of Numbering them.—Clocks.—Civil Engineering and Mechanics Page 209

CHAPTER XII.

ARTS, MANUFACTURES, TRADE, AND PRODUCTIONS OF JAPAN.

Painting.—Prints.—Casting.—Lacker-work.—Metallurgy.—Sword-blades.—Manufactures.—Trade.—Productions.—Money.—Post.—Ship-building.—Husbandry.—Culture of Tea, and Mode of drying it.—Art of dwarfing Trees, and of producing Vegetables of extraordinary size 224

CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGION OF JAPAN.

Sinsyu.—Cosmogony.—Celestial and Terrestrial Gods.—Temples.—No Idols.—Future State.—Precepts.—Impurity.—Purification.—Form of Worship.—Priests.—Pilgrimages.—Orders of the Blind.—Their Romantic Origin.—Sects.—Buddhism.—Its Introduction.—Arts by which Established.—Letter from the Corean Prince.—Tumult by Anti-Buddhists.—Buddhism blended with *Sinsyu*.—*Siutoo*.—Consequences of the Aversion to Christianity.—Present State of the three Religions.—Strange Story of a former fourth Religion resembling Christianity 235

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF JAPAN.

Name.—Zin-mu-ten-woo first *Mikado*.—Decline of the *Mikado's* Power.—Civil War.—Yoritomo.—His Success.—He restores the nominal Power of the *Mikado*.—Yoritomo *Ziagoon*.—*Ziagoonship* becomes Hereditary.—Quarrels with Mongols.—War.—Slaughter of Ambassadors.—Peace.—Arrival of the Portuguese.—Success of the Jesuits.—Contentions for the *Ziagoonship*.—Nobunaga.—Taykosama.—Favourite Japanese

Hero.—His Measures of Policy.—Death.—Usurpation of Iyeyas.—Persecution of Christians.—Adoption of the present exclusive System.—Iyeyas, deified as Gongen-sama, the Founder of the reigning *Ziogoön* Dynasty . . . Page 248

CHAPTER XV.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA.

Relations between Japan and China.—Chinese Assumption of Sovereignty.—Corean Narrative of a Japanese Embassy to China.—Ambassador's Audience.—Treatment.—Chinese Visit to Japan.—Japanese Literati in China.—Chinese Attempts to Establish Sovereignty over Japan.—Hideyosi's Resentment.—War with China in and for Corea.—Peace.—Commercial and Friendly Intercourse.—Narrative of Japanese Traders.—Their Capture.—Treatment in Tartary.—At Peking.—In Corea.—Their Remarks.—Return Home.—Formalities 267

INSTITUTIONS,
MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS
OF
THE JAPANESE.

CHAPTER I.

BAY OF NAGASAKI.

Intercourse of the Dutch with Japan.—Voyage.—Shipwrecked Japanese.—Illegality and Danger of quitting their sinking Vessel.—Approach to Kiusiu.—Appearance of the Country.—Bay of Nagasaki.—Japanese Precautions prior to a Ship's entering the Bay—and on Shore.—Smuggling.—Exclusion of a President's Wife.—Reasons.—Personal Appearance of the Japanese.—Dress.—Ensigns of Rank.—Uses of the Fan.

HOLLAND has no direct communication with Japan. The factory at Dezima is under the control of the governor-general of the Dutch East Indian possessions; and it is with the seat of colonial government, Batavia, in the island of Java, that all its intercourse is carried on. Instructions and appointments originate there; and thence the two annual ships, to which the Dutch trade with Japan is limited, sail for the Bay of Nagasaki.

The voyage ordinarily occupies from five to six weeks, varying in length, however, according to the time spent in visiting the Dutch settlements on the way. As it draws to a close, the stranger begins to be made acquainted with the peculiarities, physical and moral, of the unknown country to which he is bound. The first aspect of both is unprepossessing

The rocks and reefs that render so large a part of the coast inaccessible, and the frequent fogs that obscure, and storms that sweep the neighbouring seas, making the navigation hazardous even to the experienced mariner, are hardly more inhospitable than the offensive precautionary regulations to which the ship, and every individual on board, are subjected, before permission to anchor can be obtained. Occasionally, however, the unfitness of the native vessels to contend with the tempests in these seas, affords adventures anterior to these annoyances, which, by stimulating his curiosity, may induce the visiter to submit to them more patiently. Dr. Von Siebold had such an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the Japanese before arriving in their country, and learning something of the rigorous laws by which they are governed. He thus relates the occurrence :

“ After a fearful storm, a wreck was discovered on the 5th of August, at daybreak. We made towards it, and recognised it to be a vessel without masts or sails, dragging two anchors. At first we thought her a Chinese junk ; but from a distress-flag which she had hoisted, we soon ascertained that she was Japanese. Unable to carry the smallest sail, she was driving before the E.N.E. wind farther and farther from land. We lay to ; and, stiff as was the gale, and high as was the sea, lowered a boat to offer our assistance to the unfortunate crew in their desperate situation. Capt. Jacometti himself went in the boat, and, by strenuous exertion, succeeded in reaching the wreck. The Japanese received the well-known Hollanders as their deliverers ; and seeing the impossibility of making the land in their dismasted, leaky vessel, resolved to abandon her for our ship. It would seem, under such circumstances, that no great deliberation as to embracing the means of escape tendered could be requisite ; but when we become better acquainted with the character of the Japanese, with their laws, and the responsibility

weighing upon their officers and constituted authorities, we shall rather wonder that any degree of danger could induce a Japanese sailor to quit his own vessel to seek safety on board a foreigner. Meanwhile the *Onderneming* had rejoined us, and the gallant Captain Lelsz also hastened with his boat to the rescue. The Japanese sailors, twenty-four in number, were divided between the two boats. Some provisions, as rice, salt pork, *sakee* (a sort of beer or wine, made from rice, and the only fermented liquor known in Japan), tobacco, and also arms and clothes, were taken out, and the wreck was abandoned, after being scuttled at the urgent prayer of her crew. Their crime would have been judged unpardonable had their deserted bark by any chance drifted to the Japanese coast: she must sink, in order to palliate in some measure the step which the unfortunate men had hazarded for their safety.

“In highly-excited expectation we watched our stout mariners as they battled with the mountainous billows. The boat was soon tossed to our side, and curiously did we gaze at the strange guests as they successively appeared on our deck. They greeted us courteously, but stood amazed; and, sailor-like, first admired the ship that had braved a storm so fatal to their own. They were the first Japanese we had seen, and greatly were we struck by their grave appearance and modest behaviour. Their dress, arms, implements, in short, all they brought on board, drew our attention, and we were presently engaged in pantomimic conversation with them. They were indeed tranquillized, and the un hoped-for change in their condition seemed gratifying to them; but the frightful images of past danger, and traces of long days of painful exertion, still spoke distinctly in their countenances. Their neglected dress and their whole carriage gave evidence of the state of despair whence they had escaped. They were, however, quickly reconciled to their lot, seemed to relish their

and tobacco, and chatted away with great animation. They spread their mats on deck; each one brought his box; and a scene, novel to us, began, namely, a Japanese toilet. Above all, we admired their dexterity in shaving their own heads. The Japanese shaves his beard and the crown of his head, omitting to do so only in misfortune, as in captivity, on the death of friends, and the like. In his appropriate *coiffure*, the newly-washed bristly hair left round the shaven crown gives him a wild aspect, which had here passed into the comic, every individual having cut off his *queue* as a sacrifice to his patron divinity, in acknowledgment of his deliverance from imminent danger—a Japanese seaman's ordinary vow. Cleanly dressed, they now walked the deck, and seemed transported to a new world. Every object awakened their curiosity and afforded matter for conversation."

The wreck proved to be a vessel belonging to the Prince of Satzuma, employed in the trade with the Loo-Choo Islands, dependancies of the Japanese empire, but more especially of his principality. And it may here be observed, that the danger of their deserted wreck's floating home was not the only one against which the Japanese mariners had to guard, in accepting the succour offered them. Had the Dutch been bound elsewhere than to Nagasaki, the involuntary absence thus occasioned could hardly have been so short as not to have subjected them to imprisonment, and a severe judicial examination, before they would be allowed to resume their station, low as it might be, among their countrymen; while anything of a distant voyage would have inevitably incurred the forfeiture of all their rights as natives of the empire.

The appearance of the country, on approaching the port, is very beautiful, and is thus described by Siebold:

"Hills clothed with green, and cultivated to the

very summit, adorn the foreground, behind which arise blue mountain peaks in sharp outlines. Dark rocks here and there break the glassy surface of the sea, and the precipitous wall of the adjacent coast glittered with ever-changing hues in the bright beams of the morning sun. The mountain side of the nearest island, cultivated in terraces; tall cedars, among which white houses shone, and insulated temple-roofs jutted magnificently out, with numerous dwellings bordering the strand and the shores of the bay, afforded a truly pleasing sight. We did not neglect the opportunity of obtaining information from our Japanese guests, and learned with surprise that the pretty white houses, which we had taken for the mansions of grandees, were nothing more than store-houses, the walls of which are coated, as a precaution against fire, with mortar prepared from shell-chalk. Sailing vessels and fishing boats enlivened the mouth of the bay. At the call of our Japanese guests many fishermen approached, and offered us their fish with a liberality and civility quite astonishing in their rank of life. They were most friendly; and evidently took pleasure in presenting to us and to their rescued countrymen the fruits of their toil. Gold and gifts of value they refused, but begged some empty wine-bottles. Common green-glass bottles are much prized in Japan. These fishermen were as nearly naked as was at all compatible with decency."

It is here, outside of Nagasaki Bay, that the annoyances originating in Japanese suspicion begin. Guards stationed on the coast keep a constant lookout for ships, and as soon as the approach of one is reported at Nagasaki, a boat is despatched to demand her name, country, equipage, and other particulars. The business of interrogation is carried on without the exchange of a word or any personal intercourse, by papers drawn up from the boat and returned after the proper answers are inserted. This

being done, the ship must wait farther orders where she is, on pain of being considered and treated as an enemy ; and the interval is employed in packing up Bibles, prayer-books, pictures or prints representing sacred objects, should any such be on board—in short, everything connected with Christianity—and, according to some writers, all books whatever and money, in a chest, which is duly locked and sealed.*

After the governor of Nagasaki has received these answers, another boat is sent to demand hostages ; and when these have been delivered and conveyed to the temporary abode appointed for them, a Japanese deputation, headed by a police-officer of the highest rank, called *gobanyosi*, and accompanied always, at the request of the governor of Nagasaki, by one or two members of the Dutch factory, visits the ship, in order to ascertain whether she is certainly one of the two permitted annual merchantmen. If at any stage of the proceedings she should prove to be an interloper, she is at once ordered to depart ; if in distress of any kind, she is supplied with whatever she may need, and that gratuitously, the more strongly to mark the determination to suffer no trade ; but she is not allowed to enter the bay or to hold any communication with the shore beyond asking for and receiving the necessaries of which she is in want. If the investigation prove satisfactory, the Dutch crew return home, the *gobanyosi* takes possession of the guns, arms of all kinds, ammunition, &c., which, together with the chest containing the religious books, &c., he removes to an appointed place on shore, where they remain in custody during the vessel's stay, to be restored at her departure.

* It must, however, be observed, that this entire prohibition of books seems somewhat irreconcilable with the avowed desire of the Japanese for European works of science ; and a suspicion arises that prayer-books and Bibles have been mistaken by Montanus, upon whose authority the statement rests, for books in general.

Of course the result was satisfactory on Dr. Siebold's arrival, though some slight difficulties occurred. In the first place, he says that the Japanese interpreters spoke better Dutch than himself, and they accordingly declared their disbelief of his being a native of Holland.* Luckily, however, various pronunciations and dialects prevail in the different districts of Japan; and, in consequence, his assertion that he was a *Yama Hollanda*, or Dutch mountaineer, proved entirely satisfactory. Similar mistrust had been excited in the last century by the pronunciation of the Swede Thunberg. In the second place, the shipwrecked Japanese sailors had to undergo a long and minute examination, to justify the suspicious and illegal step of going on board a foreign ship. This also proving satisfactory, and the vessel being rendered spiritually and physically innoxious by the removal of her Bibles and her guns, she was towed by Japanese boats into the inner harbour, and conducted to her regular anchorage.

"The bay," says Siebold, "becomes more animated as we approach the town, and offers on both sides the most delightful variety of objects. How inviting are the shores, with their cheerful dwellings! What fruitful hills, what majestic temple-groves! How picturesque those green mountain-tops, with their volcanic formation! How luxuriantly do those evergreen oaks, cedars, and laurels clothe the declivity! What activity, what industry does Nature, thus tamed, as it were, by the hand of man, proclaim! As witness those precipitous walls of rock, on whose sides cornfields and gardens are won in terraces from the steep; the coast, too, where cyclopean bulwarks set bounds to the arbitrary caprice of a hostile element!"

A superior police-officer is now stationed at Dezi-ma (the Dutch factory), to watch the unloading and loading of the vessel, towards which not a step may

* See Note II.

be taken except under his immediate superintendence. Neither is any one permitted to land without undergoing a personal search in this officer's presence, the chief or president (*opperhoofd*) of the factory being the only individual exempt from this annoyance.

This offensive custom originated probably in a stratagem long successfully employed in smuggling goods. Formerly the captains of the annual ships used, while the Bibles, &c., were packing, to clothe themselves in loose attire, which was made to fit them in external appearance by internal waddings. Thus enlarged, they presented themselves to the visiting Japanese officers. When about to land, they exchanged their waddings for the contraband articles intended to be introduced, wore the waddings during their stay, and repeated the same operation before embarking for their departure. This practice is now rendered impossible; but it would seem that, in spite of Japanese suspicion and vigilance, other modes of introducing and exporting prohibited goods are successfully adopted, as all the members of the factory agree that such goods are brought on shore, and secretly sold or bartered for such Japanese wares as the Dutch want, but are forbidden to carry away. Of these last many specimens are deposited in the Royal Museum at the Hague: while the possibility of introducing prohibited articles into Dezima, at least, is shown by President Doeff's statement, that the factory is in no want of Bibles or psalm-books, the possession of which, however, President Meylen observes, is now connived at; whence it may perhaps be inferred that the Japanese dread of Christianity has much subsided during the long period that has elapsed since the last missionary efforts to convert the empire.

The jealousy of the Japanese, and the character of their system of exclusion, are curiously illustrated by the following incident. In 1817, Doeff's succes-

son in the presidentship of the factory, Heer Blomhoff, threw the whole town of Nagasaki into consternation, by bringing with him, not an armed force, but his young wife, her new-born infant, and a Javanese nurse: a contravention of Japanese law, the heinousness of which was greatly increased by there being another example of it on board the same ship, the mate having likewise brought his wife with him; less criminally, indeed, than Heer Blomhoff, as he intended to take her away when the vessel sailed, whereas the new head of the factory meditated the atrocious offence of obtruding his wife, child, and nurse upon Nagasaki, or at least upon Dezima, during all the years of his presidentship.

The governor peremptorily objected to the lady's landing; when Heer Doeff, kindly desirous to procure for his successor, perhaps for all future *opperhoofds*, and the whole factory, the solace of virtuous domestic society, entered into a negotiation on the subject, the course and issue of which he thus relates:

"I appealed to the precedent of 1662, when the Chinese pirate Coxinga, having taken Formosa from the Dutch, as many women and children as fled thence to Japan were admitted into Dezima; and I solicited the same favour now. The governor replied that the cases were not alike; that on the occasion cited the women had come *through necessity*, as fugitives, but now *by choice*. In the first case, the Japanese could not refuse an asylum to the people of a friendly nation; the second was altogether different.* He promised, however, to submit my request to the court at Yedo, and to allege the precedent in question in its support. Meanwhile, Vrouw Blomhoff was allowed provisionally to land at Dezima with her child and servant, there to await the final answer. Still a great difficulty remained. No one who sets foot in Japan is exempt from an examina-

* See Note III.

tion of his whole person, the *opperhoofd* alone excepted; the governor himself has no power to dispense with this search. I took it upon myself, nevertheless, to arrange this affair in regard to the women, as well with the superintending *gobanyosi* on board as on shore at Dezima; and although the examination could not be omitted, it was managed with the utmost forbearance and delicacy. * * *

“After an interval of two months, the answer to Heer Blomhoff’s petition for leave to keep his wife and child with him came: it was a refusal. The husband was naturally much dissatisfied and dejected; but all our efforts to soften this determination were vain: against the presumed decision of the emperor, the governor durst not offer any remonstrance or representation. This severity of exclusion is not directed specially against Hollanders, or even foreign women, but against all persons who are not *positively necessary to carrying on the trade*. The general principle of the Japanese is, that no one must enter their country *without cause*; so that not even to a Dutchman is access allowed, unless he belongs to the ship’s crew or to the counting-house. Thus when, in 1804, Captain Van Pabst, a military officer, accompanied his friend, Captain Musquetier, of the *Gesina Antoinetta*, from Batavia to Japan, being entered on the ship’s muster-roll as ‘passenger,’ we were obliged, in spite of all I could say against it, to enter him on *our* muster-roll as ‘clerk’ or ‘mate’ (I forget which) before he could come on shore. The amiable character of Heer van Pabst caused his presence to be winked at; yet he might not bear the name of ‘passenger.’

“It may easily be imagined how affecting was the parting of the wedded pair, now condemned to a long separation. On the 2d of December, Heer Blomhoff conducted his wife, child, and nursemaid on board the good ship *Vrouw Agatha*, in which I was to return with them to Batavia.”

This chapter we shall conclude with a brief sketch of the appearance of this singular people, as they first meet the eye of the voyager; some, before he sets foot on Japanese ground; others, standing with the head of the Dutch factory, in full dress, to receive him as he lands. And first of their persons.

The Japanese have all the organic characteristics of Mongol conformation, the oblique position of the eye included; but they seem to be the least uncomely of that ugly race. Klaproth considers the Chinese portion of their nature happily modified by greater energy, both muscular and intellectual. They are generally described as well made, strong, active, and fresh-coloured; the young of both sexes as smooth-faced, rosy, and graced with abundance of fine black hair. The Dutch writers, indeed, dilate complacently upon the beauty of the young women, of which a specimen is given in a portrait in Siebold's work. The gait of both sexes is allowed to be awkward, and the women's the worst, in consequence of their bandaging their hips so tightly as to turn their feet inward.

The ordinary dress of both sexes and of all ranks is in form very similar, differing chiefly in the colours, fineness, and value of the materials. It consists of a number of loose, wide gowns worn over each other—those of the lower orders made of linen or calico, those of the higher generally of silk—with the family arms woven or worked into the back and breast of the outer garment, and all fastened at the waist by a girdle. The sleeves are enormous in width and length, and the portion that hangs below the arm is closed at the end, to answer the purpose of a pocket; subsidiary, however, to the capacious bosoms of the gowns and to the girdles, where the more valuable articles are deposited; among these are neat squares of clean white paper, the Japanese substitutes for pocket-handkerchiefs, which, after being used, are dropped into the sleeve until an op-

portunity offers of throwing them away without soiling the house. This description applies to both sexes ; but the women usually wear brighter colours than the men, and border their robes with gay embroidery or gold. Gentlemen wear a scarf over the shoulders, the length of which is regulated by the rank of the wearer ; and this serves in turn to regulate the bow with which they greet each other, it being indispensable to bow to a superior until the ends of the scarf touch the ground.

To these, upon occasions of full dress, is added what is called the garb of ceremony, which consists of a cloak of peculiar form thrown over the other garments. With the cloak is worn by the higher classes a very singular sort of trousers, called *hak-kama*, which, from the description given of them, and their appearance in the Hague Museum, seem to be formed of an immensely full-plaited petticoat, sewed up between the legs, and left sufficiently open on the outside to admit of free locomotion.

The difference of rank indicated by these petticoat-trousers is only apparent upon occasions of ceremony, the ordinary criterion of this consisting in the wearing of swords. The highest orders wear two on the same side, one above the other ; the next in rank one ; but whether two or one, they are never by any chance laid aside. The lower orders are strictly prohibited from wearing a sword.

Within doors, socks are the only covering of the feet. Abroad, shoes are worn, but of the most awkward and inconvenient kind. They are represented as little more than soles of straw, matting, or wood, kept on principally by an upright pin or button held between the two largest toes, which for this purpose project through an aperture in the socks ; or, according to some older writers, by a horn ring. The difficulty of lifting a foot thus shod in walking, amply accounts for the awkward gait ascribed to the Japanese. Upon entering the house these shoes are taken off.

The headdress constitutes the chief difference in point of costume between the sexes. The men shave the whole front and crown of the head; the rest of the hair, growing from the temples and back of the head, is carefully gathered together, drawn upward and forward, and so tied as to form a sort of tuft on the bald top. Some professions, however, deviate from this general fashion; Buddhist priests and physicians shaving off all the hair, while surgeons retain all theirs, gathered into a knot on the crown of the head.

The luxuriant hair of the women is arranged in the form of a turban, and stuck full of pieces of fine tortoise-shell, fifteen inches long, of the thickness of a man's finger, highly wrought, and polished to look like gold. These ornaments are said to be extremely costly; and the more of them that project from a lady's hair, the better is she dressed. They wear no jewels or other trinkets. The face is painted red and white, to the utter spoiling of the complexion; the lips are stained purple, with a golden tint: in addition to this, the teeth of a Japanese married lady are blackened, and the hair of the eyebrows is eradicated.

Neither men nor women wear hats, except as a protection against rain, the fan being deemed a sufficient screen from the sun; and perhaps nothing strikes the newly-arrived European more than this fan, which he sees in the hand or girdle of every human being. Soldiers and priests no more appear without their fans than fine ladies, the latter applying them to the same use as is made of them in other countries. Among the men, the fan serves a great variety of purposes: visitors receive the dainties offered them upon it; and the beggar, imploring charity, holds out his fan for the alms his prayers may have obtained. The fan serves the dandy in lieu of a whalebone switch; the pedagogue instead of a ferule for the offending schoolboy's knuckles;

and, not to enumerate its many other uses, a fan, presented upon a peculiar kind of salver to the high-born criminal, is said to be the form of announcing his death-doom, his head being struck off the moment he stretches it towards this emblem of his fate.*

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AT DEZIMA.

Artificial Island.—Factory.—Confinement of the Dutch therein. —Restrictions upon their Intercourse with Natives.—With Servants.—Female Servants.—Children by Japanese Women. —Restrictions upon their Dealings.—Management of the Trade.—Police.—Interpreters.—Intercourse with Men in Office.—Trampling upon the Picture of our Saviour.—Toleration and subsequent Persecution of Christianity.—Japanese Martyrs.—Anecdote of a wrecked Portuguese Brig.—Intercourse of subordinate Dignitaries.—Audiences of Governor of Nagasaki.—Dutch Sepulchres.

HAVING landed the new member of the Dutch factory at Dezima, we must now take a survey of the spot where he is for the most part to be confined during the next few years of his life. Like everything in Japan, Dezima is original; being an artificial island raised in the bay. The very object of its formation was, that it should serve as a place of confinement, although not originally for the Dutch.

When the Japanese government began to entertain a jealousy and dislike of foreigners, the first measure taken was so to place them that they could be conveniently watched. For this purpose the Europeans and their commerce were restricted to the

* Siebold.

two ports of Nagasaki and Firato, at which last the Dutch factory was then established. The next step was to confine the Portuguese more closely still; and with this view the island of Dezima was directed to be raised from the bottom of the sea, to be appropriated for their abode. The emperor's pleasure being asked as to the form of the future island, he unfolded the ever present fan; and, accordingly, in the shape of a fan the island was constructed. After the Portuguese were finally expelled, the Dutch were transferred from Firato to this prison-house.

Dezima is about 600 feet in length by 240 in breadth, and is situated only a few yards from the shore, close to which the town of Nagasaki stands. The island and town are connected by a stone bridge, but a high wall prevents the residents in either from seeing those in the other. The view of the bay, teeming with activity and life, appears, indeed, to be open to the inmates of the factory, secluded as they are; but this view is a distant one only, no Japanese boat being permitted to approach the island within a certain prescribed distance, marked by a stockade. The bridge is closed by a gate, and near it is a guardhouse constantly occupied by a body of police and soldiers, who equally debar the Dutch from quitting their island without permission, and prevent the entrance of Japanese visitors, excepting only certain appointed individuals, and those at specified hours. Neither Dutch nor Japanese can pass the gate without being searched. The sea-gate is watched in a similar manner, though with a police force exclusively, and only when it is opened, which is never done except for intercourse with the Dutch ships while in the harbour. The name Dezima signifies Fore-island, *zima* meaning island, and *de fore*.

The number of European residents in this singular island is now limited to eleven. They consist of the *opperhoofd* (the head or president of the factory), called

by the Japanese *Holanda* or *Holanda Capitan*; a warehouse-master; a secretary, or, in plain English, a bookkeeper; a physician; five clerks,* and two warehousemen. Foreign servants they are not allowed, these being considered unnecessary, as they can be waited upon by the Japanese; and after a fashion they are so, that is, while the sun is above the horizon, the servants not being suffered to sleep on the island. They must leave it at sunset; and to prove that they do so, are required to present themselves at the appointed time to the proper authorities at the bridge watchhouse; nor, it is said, can any emergency, not even the most dangerous illness of their Dutch master, excuse the violation of this rule.

The destitution of attendance in which the members of the factory are thus left during half their time, "without the means even of getting the tea-kettle boiled for their evening tea," is earnestly dwelt upon by one of the recent Dutch writers, in apology for the immoral connexions which his countrymen form in Japan; and the singularity of everything appertaining to this extraordinary country must excuse our noticing this subject.

It appears that the only Japanese exempt from the necessity of quitting *Dezima* at sunset are women who have forfeited the first claim of their sex to respect or esteem, while no female of good character is at any time permitted to set foot in the island, as is announced in the strongest terms by a public proclamation placarded near the bridge gate. From this unhappy and degraded class alone, therefore, can the Dutch procure either female servants or constant attendance. The consequences need not be told. The children of these women are considered as altogether Japanese; and, as such, they must not be born in *Dezima*. An incidental mention by *Doeff* of the

* See Note IV.

women and children in the factory, shows that the mothers are permitted to nurse their infants in the houses of their fathers ; but at a very early age these children are subjected to restrictions in their intercourse with their fathers similar to those imposed upon the intercourse of all natives with foreigners ; and the only indulgence granted to the paternal feelings of the Dutch, is being allowed to receive occasional visits from their offspring at certain specified periods (whether this privilege extends to the daughters is not stated), and to provide for their education and support through life. The fathers are frequently permitted, if not required, to purchase for their adult Japanese sons some office under government, at Nagasaki or elsewhere.

As no Japanese may be born in Dezima, so no one is suffered to die there ; though how this can always be avoided, as in cases of sudden decease, is not explained. It may be conjectured, however, that the remedy resorted to in such cases is to employ the artifice termed *nayboen* by the Japanese (which means the pretended concealment of something generally known), and of the strange and incessant use of which we shall have much to say hereafter. Thus appearances, perhaps, may be saved by concealing the death and removing the deceased, as though still alive, to the place where he may lawfully die, which would be merely absurd. But it is a more revolting idea that such precipitate transportation may occasionally take place while the vital spark is not yet quite extinct ; and the time which, judiciously employed, might have saved life, is thus wasted in conveying the sufferer to a legal deathbed. But the loss or the preservation of life is of little account in Japanese estimation, when placed in competition with the punctilious observance of rules and forms.

The dwellings in this singular place of abode are not provided by the government, but appear to have

been built by citizens of Nagasaki upon speculation, the Dutch paying for them an exorbitant rent, which is fixed by authority. They are, however, permitted to fit them up according to their own taste, and to procure their furniture, either in the European style from Java, or to have it made by their own direction in Japan; and so ingenious and patiently persevering are the Japanese handicraftsmen, that they rarely fail in any piece of work they undertake, however different it may be from what they have been accustomed to. They occasionally require, however, from their customers patience equal to their own, as no money will induce them to hurry anything they have in hand by encroaching upon the hours allotted to meals, recreation, or rest.

But neither the artificers they employ nor the tradesmen with whom they deal are the members of the factory permitted to choose for themselves. Purveyors are officially appointed, and the prices at which they serve the factory with their different wares are fixed by government fifty per cent. above the regular market-price: a rate of charge avowedly intended to defray in part the expenses incident to the safe-keeping of the strangers. There is also an official purchaser (still called by his Portuguese name of *comprador*), who buys for them such unprohibited articles as the Dutch may order; and in none of these transactions is money permitted to be employed. Whether it be intended as a preventive of bribery, or for what purpose, does not appear; but to the Dutch all money dealings, and even the possession of money, are strictly prohibited. The sale of the imported merchandise and the purchase of the return cargoes are effected in the following manner: The cargoes of the Dutch ships, when landed, are delivered to Japanese agents, who dispose of them, employ the avails in purchasing the goods to be shipped, and give in their unchecked accounts to the Dutch president. Even the private adventures al-

lowed to the members of the factory in compensation for their inadequate salaries are thus managed. The remaining accounts of the purveyors and of the *comprador* are all settled out of the proceeds of these annual sales.

The purveyors, the *comprador*, a Japanese physician, appointed provisionally, to act in case of the Dutch physician's illness, death, or absence, a professor of the Japanese remedy of acupuncture, and the known servants, including the porters employed in unloading and loading the annual ships, are each furnished with a seal or ticket by way of passport, that secures to them a free passage to and from Dezima within the lawful hours. But these persons are all obliged, prior to entering upon their duties, to sign, with their own blood, an oath binding them to contract no friendship with the Dutch ; to afford them no information respecting the language, laws, manners, religion, or history of Japan ; in short, to hold no communication with them, except in their several recognised functions. No other persons than those above mentioned, and the officers and interpreters employed by government, can enter Dezima without an express permission from the governor of Nagasaki ; but it is said that any Japanese who wishes to visit the place without this formality, can usually do so by bribery, passing as the servant of some one of the sanctioned or official visitors.

The due observance of all these regulations is watched over and enforced by the municipal officers and police of Nagasaki, a certain number of whom, with a due proportion of interpreters, are always upon the island. Houses are there assigned them ; but there appears to be little occasion for more than a station-house or guardroom, as the whole set is relieved every twenty-four hours.

The interpreters constitute one of the regular corporations or guilds of Nagasaki, and receive salaries

from the *ziogoon*, or emperor, as he is usually called by Europeans. From sixty to seventy of this body, reckoning superior and inferior, are appointed to be Dutch interpreters ; and a yet larger number are assigned to the Chinese factory, which, like the Dutch, is confined to a spot adjoining Nagasaki. But even these authorized Dutch interpreters are forbidden to communicate freely with the members of the factory, not being allowed to visit the president or any of his inferiors in office unless accompanied by a municipal officer, or, as Fischer says, by a spy. But, although the whole administration of Japan seems to be a system of *espionage*, as will appear hereafter, it is hardly to be supposed that the spies upon whom this cautious government depends for information should be persons in public official station. It is far more likely that certain of the menial servants of the factory act the part of spies, watching and reporting the conduct of the municipal officers and interpreters. and, perhaps, even of each other, as well as of their own masters. This conjecture is in some measure confirmed by the circumstance that all these servants understand Dutch, which does not appear to be the case with the police or municipal officers.

While the Dutch vessels remain in the bay, and the business of unloading, procuring a cargo, reloading, &c., is going on, a good deal of negotiation and intercourse takes place between the president and the governor and his subordinates ; and there is some diversity in the accounts of the Dutch and German writers as to the degree of politeness which, upon this and other formal occasions, marks the behaviour of the Japanese. Dr. Von Siebold avers that the Dutch *opperhoofd* still submits to very degrading and contemptuous treatment ; attributing such submission, however, to a patriotic anxiety for the preservation to Holland of a highly profitable trade, and not to any views of individual gain ; while most of the Dutch writers affirm, on the other hand, that

they receive every mark of consideration and respect they could reasonably expect or desire, and represent the trade to be of little value. The accounts given by the Dutch presidents of their intercourse with the different Japanese officers with whom they come in contact, will enable the reader to judge between these contradictory statements. There is one circumstance, however, which may afford a key to the conduct of this haughty, though not conceited nation.

The Japanese nobles and placemen, even of secondary rank, entertain a sovereign contempt for traffic, whence it may be inferred that the director or head of a commercial establishment cannot expect to be treated by them as their equal. And that this is the light in which they regard the Dutch *opperhoofd*, is shown in their application to that gentleman of the sumptuary laws respecting the wearing of swords. This mark of dignity is strictly prohibited to all Japanese traders; and the wealthiest merchant can in no way free himself from the degradation of appearing unarmed, imposed by these laws, than by prevailing upon some indigent noble, whose necessities his purse has relieved, to enter his (the merchant's) name upon the list of his (the nobleman's) servants; when the titular domestic is permitted, in his menial capacity, to wear a single sword. Now of the whole Dutch factory, to the president alone is this privilege granted; and even he is allowed but one sword, and that to be worn upon state occasions only; all of which, be it remembered, has no reference either to nation or to person, but is absolutely and solely the test and mark of station, or rather, perhaps, of class. Can it be supposed, then, that the man who is allowed to wear but one sword, and that only upon particular specified occasions, should be placed on a footing of equality with those who wear two, or even with those who wear one at their own pleasure, that is to say, always?

There is, however, one very important point in the treatment of the Dutch in Japan, respecting which all the late writers agree in correcting the mistaken impressions prevalent throughout Europe; and this point is their religion, which, if they are not allowed openly to profess by practising its rites—this being strictly prohibited by the Japanese laws—they are not now, at least, required to insult and deny, by trampling on the picture of the Virgin and the infant Saviour. That they ever did sully the Christian name by submitting to this sacrilegious humiliation, to which thousands of Japanese martyrs preferred death, rests solely upon the authority of their expelled commercial rivals, the Portuguese, and of the hostile Jesuits; corroborated, indeed, by the contempt which the Dutch, at the period of obtaining their first charter in 1611, in the midst of the persecution of the native Christians and of the missionaries, appear to have incurred from the Japanese, by their supple compliance with every requisition. The question, thus limited, can be of little interest to any but the Dutch; still, what is known of the history of this singular ceremony of abjuration, and of the treatment experienced by the Dutch in relation to their religion, both formerly and at the present time, is too characteristic of the Japanese to be omitted.

From the first visits of the Portuguese to Japan, Roman Catholic missionaries flocked to the new theatre thus offered to their zeal. At their head was that truly extraordinary and apostolic preacher, afterward canonized for his great and triumphant exertions in converting the heathen, François Xavier; and up to the latter end of the sixteenth century Christianity, and the missionary labours of the Jesuits, enjoyed a toleration so complete as to be almost unaccountable in a country in which the authority of the nominal autocrat sovereign, the *Mikad* (whose vicegerent only the *Ziogoon** professes him

* See Note V.

self to be), rests entirely upon its religion ; the *Mikado* (literally "the Son of Heaven") reigning as the acknowledged descendant and representative of the gods. Under this toleration, the missionaries were so successful, that, according to the reports made by the Jesuits to their superiors at Rome, there were in Japan, prior to the breaking out of the civil wars that occasioned the prohibition of Christianity, 200,000 native Christians, among whom were found princes, generals, and the flower of the nobility. Nay, a few years later, the heir of the *ziogoonship* himself is said to have been half a convert : while the numbers of the Jesuits' flock increased rapidly, even by hundreds of thousands, throughout the whole of those civil wars and during the early period of the persecution.

In those civil contentions, the native Christians unfortunately, like Cato, embraced the weaker side, and the consequence was their persecution. A legal persecution, modified by much connivance, according to the Japanese *nayboen* system, had lasted for years, when, in 1637, a rebellion broke out in the principality of Arima, where the population was chiefly Christian. The origin and character of this rebellion are variously represented by the Dutch and Portuguese* authorities. According to the latter, it was occasioned by the increased persecution of his Christian subjects by a newly-appointed heathen prince ; while the Dutch represent it as having been provoked solely by the tyranny and extortion of this prince, and altogether unconnected with religious differences. Siebold, who may be considered in this question as neutral, without saying anything as to its origin, calls it "the unsuccessful insurrection of the Christians." Viewing the subject impartially, the probability would seem to be, that religion was in fact the impelling cause of the insurrection. Proscription of the native Christians, and the penal-

* See Note VI

ty of death denounced against all who refused to comply with the test of trampling upon the effigy of the Virgin and of the infant Redeemer, were even then the law of the land, and would conveniently afford both pretext and means for a newly-appointed heathen ruler to practise tyranny and extortion. Be this, however, as it may, after a protracted struggle, the prince of Arima drove the insurgents, who have been estimated at no less than 70,000, into the peninsula of Simabara ; and, finding himself unable to subdue them there, he, with the full sanction of the *ziogoon*, called upon the Dutch to bring their armed vessels and artillery to his assistance. Koekebokker was at that time the head of the Dutch factory, then established at Firato, and which was in a most prosperous condition, in consequence of the great privileges granted by the original charter, and the liberty enjoyed under the protection of the Prince of Firato. Koekebokker obeyed the summons with the single man-of-war then at his disposal, and the Dutch artillery decided the fate of the unfortunate Christian insurgents at Simabara. This civil war is said to have cost forty thousand lives ; and the prince's triumph was followed by the rigid enforcement, throughout the empire, of the laws against Christians, the vanquished rebels being the first victims.

This compliance with the Japanese requisition to act as auxiliaries against their fellow-Christians the Dutch writers vindicate upon the plea that the civil war was not a religious war, though they do not deny the Christianity of the unhappy insurgents shut up on Simabara. The real apology probably lies in their not irrational dread that their own lives might pay the forfeit of disobedience to a mandate sanctioned by the emperor ; and it is not unlikely that this very compliance, by satisfying the government of the truth of the assertion, that though the Dutch were Christians, their Christianity was not the Christianity of the Portuguese, secured their

exemption from the general exclusion. They were, however, then removed from Firato and liberty to the vacated Portuguese prison, Dezima.

But this subject must not be dismissed without a tribute of admiration to the heroic constancy with which the Japanese converts adhered, under every trial, to the faith they had adopted. Every native Christian was now put to the test of trampling on the image of his Redeemer; and the Jesuits assert that scarce an instance of apostacy occurred, while incredible numbers voluntarily embraced martyrdom, inflicted with a refinement of barbarity not unfrequent in Japanese executions, and often reminding one of that rivalry in infliction and endurance between the torturer and the tortured, so common among the savages of North America. When the Japanese were weary of torturing and putting to death—and such weariness seems as little appertinent to the national idiosyncrasy as mercy—the remaining multitudes were locked up in prisons, there kept to hard work upon wretched fare, and annually offered wealth and freedom as the price of abjuring Christianity in the prescribed form. This offer was constantly rejected, until the last Japanese Christian ceased to exist. Some executions of native Christians and of Jesuit missionaries are mentioned as late as 1660 and 1665.

Even to the present day, every native Japanese, or, according to Doeff, every native of Nagasaki and the adjoining principalities, is required thus to abjure Christianity. The ceremony of trampling on the Virgin and her infant Son is performed annually upon a certain national religious festival, to wit, the fourth day after their new year; and so universal is it required to be, that bedridden invalids, and even infants in the arms, are made to touch the picture with their feet. But the regular practice is now confined to natives, though upon particular occasions it is also required of strangers.

So far are the members of the Dutch factory from being required to participate in this revolting rite, that we are assured, when any among them have felt curious to witness it, they have been unable to do so; and all that is said upon this subject in recent publications is given on the authority of the Japanese themselves. In addition to these statements, an anecdote is told in relation to this matter, which is strikingly illustrative of the kindly feeling now entertained by the Japanese towards their Dutch guests, as well as of their habitual forbearance in respect to religion, and of their general politeness. The circumstance occurred soon after Doeff's arrival, and is thus related by him :

"In November, 1801, while Heer Wardenaar was *opperhoofd*, and myself warehouse-master, a small brig was wrecked upon the Gotto island, and brought to Nagasaki for examination.* The governor of the city requested the *opperhoofd*, together with the secretaries, M. Mak and D. H. Letske, to attend the examination in the government house. The brig's crew consisted of a Malay, with his wife, a young boy, with two maid-servants of the same nation, a black Papoe, a Chinese, and a Cochin Chinese. The brig was evidently Portuguese, and the crew unanimously stated that she had sailed from Portuguese Timor, bound for Amboyna; but that the captain and all the officers having died upon the voyage, they, the survivors, found themselves so unable to manage the vessel, that they could only let her drive, trusting to Providence; and had thus, in the end, run upon the Gotta island. Hereupon the governor requested the Hollanders who were present to withdraw for a moment. They thought this strange; but soon afterward they learned from the chief interpreter that the governor, not knowing these people, was bound by his orders to make them tram

* See Ncte VII

plac upon the Christian emblems ; and that, to avoid giving the Hollanders offence, they would not have it done in their presence. This ceremony over, the Hollanders were invited to return. Hence it is manifest that the Japanese know and respect our religious opinions ; farther, that they no longer practise such overstrained severity towards others as they did in times past. Although it was clear that the brig's crew were Roman Catholics, the governor, out of compassion for the shipwrecked wretches, sent the Malays and the Papoe to us in Dezima, confining them, however, in an old house enclosed with bamboos, and watched by a Japanese guard ; while the Chinese and Cochin Chinese were similarly confined in the island occupied by the Chinese factory, there to remain until, according to orders from court, the latter could be conveyed to China by the junks, and the former in our ship, the *Matilda Maria*, to Batavia. It there appeared but too certain that the above-named brig had sailed from Timor for Macao, and that the crew had murdered the captain and other officers in order to possess themselves of the vessel, which they proved unable to manage. They were thereupon sent to Macao, where they suffered the punishment of their crime."

Having thus imparted all the information which recent authors afford upon this important point, we turn now to the forms observed in the official intercourse between the Dutch and Japanese authorities, citing them from the recent Dutch writers. President Meylan, who was the latest in Japan of any of these writers, and who seems the least flattered of his countrymen by the honours paid him, considers it as a prodigious privilege that the chief police-officer and the burgomaster of Nagasaki, when they have business with the head of the factory, repair to his house instead of summoning him to their tribunal in the island ; and he proceeds thus to describe this official visit :

“Upon such occasions the president is bound, in expectation of their arrival, to spread a carpet, to provide liqueurs and sweetmeats to be offered at the proper time, to await the high dignitary* at his own door, and, when the said high dignitary has seated himself, in Japanese fashion, on his heels on the carpet, to squat himself down in like manner, bowing his head two or three times to the ground, and thus making his *compliment*, as it is termed here. In all this I see nothing particularly objectionable, it being the usual mode in which Japanese grandees receive and salute each other; but here, in my mind, lies the offence, that between Japanese this compliment is reciprocated, while, at an interview between a Netherlander and a Japanese grandee of the rank of a *gobanyosi*, the compliment of the former is not returned by the latter, he being esteemed an exceedingly friendly burgomaster or *gobanyosi* who even nods his head to the Netherlander in token of approval. All this is the more striking to the Netherlander newly landed at Dezima, and not yet used to the custom, because he observes the Japanese to be among themselves full of ceremony and demonstrations of politeness, in which the nation yields to no other, not even to the French.

“Another custom is worthy of notice. It is, that a Japanese grandee, from the rank of a *gobanyosi* upward, never speaks directly to a Netherlander, but always through the medium of an interpreter. This might be supposed unavoidable, the parties being unable otherwise to understand each other; but such cannot be the case. Many presidents, by applying diligently to the Japanese language, have acquired sufficient knowledge to express themselves intelligibly. Some of these, passing by the interpreters, have directly addressed the high Japanese dignitary in Japanese, but in vain. The man made as though

* See Note VIII.

he understood them not, and referred them to the interpreter. Hence I conclude that this custom is a point of Japanese *etiquette*, not intended to be very complimentary to the Netherlands, and this I am confirmed in by the number of intermediary speakers in the president's interviews with the governor. The governor speaks to his secretary, the secretary to the interpreter, the interpreter to the president; and, reversing the order, the president addresses the interpreter, the interpreter to the secretary, and the secretary again to the governor.

“The *opperhoofd*, or president, has two audiences annually of the governor of Nagasaki: the one on presenting the *fassak*, or yearly tribute, which the Dutch government transmits to the Japanese rulers, the other on the sailing of the ships. The following are the dialogues uniformly repeated on these occasions:

“ ‘ ON OFFERING THE FASSAK.

“ ‘ *The President*.—It is in the highest degree gratifying to me to meet the lord-governor in perfect health, and I congratulate him thereon. I also owe thanks for the assistance which his lordship has again this year afforded the Netherlands in matters of trade, and therefore, in the name of the lord-governor-general of Batavia, are these goods offered as a present to his lordship, which, according to old custom, are destined for his lordship, and will be found enumerated in the list that I have already delivered.

“ ‘ *The Governor*.—It is very agreeable to me to see the president well, on which, and also on the happy despatch of matters of trade, I congratulate him, and accept thankfully the present that, according to ancient custom, is offered me in the name of the high government of Batavia. As the time for the departure of the ships is now at hand, the president will have to take care that they are speedily in readiness

to sail, and as soon as they are so ready, to make it known to the governor.

“ ‘*The President.*—It is an honour to me that the lord-governor has accepted the present offered him. I shall take care that the ships are speedily ready for their departure, and shall not neglect to make it known to the governor as soon as they are ready.’ ”

“ The audience being over, the president repairs to another room, and asks leave to have a separate interview with the secretaries. The secretaries come in, the usual compliment is paid, and the following short dialogue ensues :

“ ‘*The President.*—It is gratifying to me to see Messrs. the Secretaries well, and I thank them for the trouble they have been so good as to take concerning the trade.

“ ‘*The first Secretary, in the name of both.*—We also are glad to see the president in good health, and wish he may so continue.

“ ‘ AT THE AUDIENCE OF DEPARTURE.

“ ‘*The President.*—Wishing the lord-governor health, I make known to his lordship that the day after to-morrow, the 20th, the ships will remove to the Papenberg ; they being, thanks to the assistance afforded by the lord-governor, ready to depart.’ ”

(In obedience to an imperial edict, the Dutch ships are bound to quit the harbour of Nagasaki, whether ready or not, on the 20th of the ninth Japanese month. They may, however, under colour of waiting for a fair wind, lie a while at anchor under the Papenberg, and there take in what is still wanting to complete their cargo ; although, the moment their guns are re-embarked, they must set sail, whatever be the weather. The audience of departure, therefore, always takes place on the 18th of the ninth Japanese month.)

“ ‘*The Governor.*—It is satisfactory to me that the ships are ready to sail, and the president is desired

to let them depart on the coming 20th. I will now read what, according to the imperial commands, the president has to do farther, and the president will listen attentively.

“ ‘ *The President*.—I thank the lord governor for the leave granted to depart, and will listen to the imperial commands.’ ”

(The governor then reads in Japanese, and the interpreter in Dutch, a document, the purport of which is, that if the Dutch desire the continuance of their trade with Japan, they must neither bring any Portuguese thither, nor hold any intercourse with the Portuguese ; but, on the contrary, they must make known to the governor of Nagasaki whatever they may learn respecting any hostile designs of the Portuguese against Japan, and must respect such Chinese junks as are bound for Japan, as well as all vessels belonging to the Loo Choo Islands, they being subject to Japan. This done, the dialogue is thus resumed :)

“ ‘ *The Governor*.—These imperial commands you will duly observe, and the president will, moreover, command the Netherlanders who remain behind to behave themselves well.

“ ‘ *The President*.—I shall duly observe the imperial commands made known to me, and communicate them to the high government at Batavia. Moreover, I will command the Netherlanders who remain behind to behave themselves well.’ ”

“The present always consists of a vessel of *sakee*, and of two trays, one of seafish, the other of seaweed.”—MEYLAN.

This will complete our sketch of the mode of living at Dezima, adding a few words only respecting the funeral rites allowed the Dutch who die there. The grounds belonging to one particular temple are assigned to the factory as their place of sepulture. For this they pay a yearly sum to the temple, but

rather in the form of a gratuitous offering than as the price of the privilege thus granted. The forms of burial are, of course, not Christian, but the dead are treated with respect. The priests of the temple perform the same rites at the funeral of the deceased stranger, and take the same care of his grave and monument, as though he were their fellow-countryman and of the same religion.

CHAPTER III.

NAGASAKI AND ITS ENVIRONS.

Excursions permitted.—Conditions on which allowed.—Town of Nagasaki.—Houses.—Gardens.—Fire-proof Store-rooms.—Scenery.—Temples.—Tea-houses.—Visits.—Religious Festivals.—Japanese Demons.—Hunting Procession.—New Volcano.

WE have already said that the Dutch cannot pass either of the gates of Dezima without express permission from the governor. This permission is, indeed, seldom, if ever, refused; but then it is accompanied by conditions calculated to prevent its being indiscreetly solicited.

When a member of the factory wishes to obtain a little recreation, or some relief from the monotony of his seclusion at Dezima, he causes a petition, asking leave to take a walk in Nagasaki and its environs, to be presented, four-and-twenty hours beforehand, to the governor, through the proper interpreter. Permission is granted, provided the applicant be accompanied by a certain number of interpreters, and of subaltern police-officers called *ban-yoos*, and also by the *comprador*, whose business it is, on such occasions, to pay the foreigner's expen-

ses, and for any article he may purchase during his excursion. Each of these individuals, again, is attended by his domestics, until the followers amount to twenty-five or thirty persons.

So cumbersome a retinue might seem of itself a sufficient drawback on the enjoyment of a ramble, especially when it is added that all the boys within reach assemble and pursue the party wherever they go, incessantly shouting *Holanda! Holanda!* or *Horanda! Horanda!* which appears to be the more usual pronunciation of the Japanese. But, even so, the train is still far from having reached its complement. Every official attendant considers himself entitled to invite as many of his friends as he pleases to join the party, the whole of whom the unfortunate Dutchman is bound to entertain. Nor can the heavy expense thus incurred be lightened by partnership; for if two members of the factory obtain permission to go together, the number of attendants is doubled.

The usual objects of the Dutch in making these excursions are to explore the neighbouring country, banquet in the temples, ramble through the streets of Nagasaki, and visit its tea-houses. Each of these demands a few words, and it may be best to begin with the town itself, through which, whatever may be the design of his excursion, the promenader must pass.

Nagasaki stands on the side of a hill. Like all the Japanese towns, it is regularly built, and, as each house has its garden, large or small, offers a pleasing *coup d'œil*. The houses are low, none containing more than one entire story, to which is added in some a sort of cockloft, in others a low basement. The height of the front on the street, and even the number of windows, are determined by sumptuary laws. They are all constructed of wood, with a mixture of clay and chopped straw, much resembling the *pisé* of Europe; but the walls are coated

with a cement that gives them the appearance of stone. In the windows very fine strong paper, un-oiled, and protected from bad weather by external wooden shutters, supplies the place of glass. The windows on the street are farther provided with Venetian blinds, and every house is encircled by a verandah, into which all the rooms open.

Attached to the front of the better class of houses is a large portico, where the palanquins, umbrellas, and shoes of visitors are left; where servants and persons on business wait, &c.; and which is connected with all the domestic offices. The back of the house is the part inhabited by the family, and it projects into the garden triangularly, for the benefit of additional light and cheerfulness. These gardens, however diminutive, are always laid out in the landscape style, with rocks, mountains, lakes, waterfalls, and trees, and uniformly contain a family chapel or oratory. Absurd as such diminutive pleasure-grounds may seem, the gardens even of the most wealthy householders being necessarily of limited extent in the heart of a city, this intermixture of verdure, nevertheless, contributes greatly to the airiness and gay appearance of the town. The very smallest habitations have gardens, sometimes consisting of merely the corners on each side of the triangular back of the house, with the trees in flower-pots.

But the most remarkable part of a Japanese dwelling is the contrivance against fire. Each house is provided with a detached storeroom or warehouse, which Siebold mistook at a distance for the mansions of the nobility. In these tradesmen keep their stock of goods, and private families their most valuable effects, as pictures, books, collections of rarities, &c. These storerooms are built of the same materials as the dwellings; but all the wood-work, doors and roof included, is covered with a coating of clay a foot thick; the apertures for win-

dows are closed with copper shutters, and, for farther security, a large vessel of liquid mud is always at hand, with which to smear over every part of the building in case of danger ; that is to say, in case one of the conflagrations so frequently occurring amid such combustible materials should break out in the neighbourhood, or the wind drive the sparks and flames of a distant fire in a menacing direction. These fire-proof buildings answer their purpose so well, that President Doeff, in describing a conflagration, which spread into such fearful vicinity to the bridge between Nagasaki and Dezima that the governor allowed the frightened inhabitants of the factory general egress by the water-gate, and which consumed eleven entire streets in Nagasaki, partially destroying others, explicitly states that not one of the storerooms was injured.

When the town is passed you enter upon exquisitely beautiful scenery, commanding from different points the most enchanting views of hill and dale, land and sea. So bewitching are the various prospects which successively greet the eye in these rambles, that the spectator, we are assured, entranced in their contemplation, entirely forgets every drawback upon his enjoyment. The Japanese are the more prompt to grant their guests these indulgences, as they themselves fully sympathize in their delight, being passionate lovers of the beauties of nature and of fine scenery.

A striking and somewhat singular mark of their taste in this respect is, that the most pleasing sites are invariably selected for their temples. Of these there are sixty-one within a short distance from Nagasaki, built as plainly and unornamentedly as the private houses ; like them, always encircled by a verandah, and often having many smaller temples or chapels surrounding the principal edifice. The large temple is called by Siebold *yasiro* ; the smaller, or chapel-like temples, *muyas*. Every *yasiro* stands

upon an eminence, commands a fine prospect, and is surrounded by a garden. These gardens are the habitual resort of parties of pleasure, whether Japanese or Dutch ; and, for the farther enjoyment of their picturesque attractions, to almost all the temples are attached large rooms, apparently unconsecrated to the service of the divinity there worshipped. In these apartments, in places destitute of inns, travellers are accommodated, and the priests usually let them out for banqueting-rooms ; nay, even for the celebration of such orgies as seem most desecrating to any edifice connected, however remotely, with purposes of religion.

When a member of the factory goes out on an excursion, the whole party collected by his official companions must be feasted at his expense in one of these *yasiros*. He himself, however, is not always required to do the honours of the entertainment ; and this affords him a short interval of comparative liberty. While the officers are revelling with their friends on the good things which the foreigner in their custody has provided for them, they are content to connive at his *nayboen* transgressions of the rigid laws of seclusion and safe-keeping. It is at such times, and only such, that a member of the factory can ramble about with a single interpreter, enter the shops, and make purchases at his pleasure.

Sometimes the Dutchman and his whole party resort to a tea-house : a licensed place of entertainment, where there are drinking and music. These places are also made the scenes of the most abominable licentiousness.

The number of these tea-houses appears to be beyond all conception. The Dutch writers state that at Nagasaki, a town with a population of from sixty to seventy thousand souls, there are no less than 750 ; and that upon the road to Yedo the inns are almost invariably houses of this description, or have such attached to them. It is from these houses that

the members of the Dutch factory obtain their female servants or companions.

The excursions in which the Dutch are thus occasionally indulged must terminate with the day, and sunset find them again in Dezima; a requirement from which no consideration seems to exempt them. It would appear, indeed, from the information we have, that the gates of the island are never, upon any occasion, opened during the hours between sunset and sunrise.

A special petition to that effect must be presented if a Dutchman wishes to visit a Japanese acquaintance, or if he is invited by an inhabitant of Nagasaki to partake of his hospitality, the ordinary permission to take a walk not sanctioning the foreigner's setting his foot in a private house. A similar form is necessary when the object is to see a particular show or ceremony; and such petitions appear to be almost always granted, though in one instance a secret, or, as the Japanese say, *nayboen* view of one of these shows is spoken of.

Of the various public sights from which the members of the factory derive amusement, the religious festivals appear to be the principal; and among these the festival of the god Suwa, the *kami*, or patron deity of Nagasaki, seems the most remarkable. This local festival, which is the more brilliant from its chancing to coincide in point of time with one of the annual religious festivals common to the whole realm, is of some days' duration, and begins, as might be expected, by devotional rites in the temple dedicated to Suwa. This temple, which is decorated with flags for the occasion, everybody visits in his dress of ceremony, prays there, and makes the usual offering, greater or smaller, according to the means of the individual, but always including a cup of *sakee*. The public solemnity consists in placing the image of the god, together with the most precious ornaments of the temple (of which costly arms form an important

part), in a shrine magnificently gilt and lackered, which is then borne by the servants of the temple in procession through the town, attended by the chief priests in palanquins or on horseback, and by a body of horsemen deputed by the governor to honour the ceremony. Shrine, image, and treasures are all finally deposited in a straw hut erected for the purpose in a large square or open space in the city : here they remain for public exhibition, the hut being open in front, though partially encircled with screens ; and with this concludes the religious part of the festival.

Sports and scenic representations follow, the expense of which is defrayed in different years by particular districts, or what we should call wards, of the town. The rivalry between these different districts is most keen, both in regard to the costliness and splendour of the shows, and the diligence and skill with which the children, from seven to fourteen years of age, are trained to perform their parts in the spectacle. Each district on these occasions sends forth a train or procession of its inhabitants, to which every street comprised in it contributes two or three practised juvenile performers ; and these several processions are thus described :

“ First goes a huge, shapeless bulk of linen, fastened to a hoop, from which it hangs down to the ground. Of the man who carries it upon a bamboo, nothing can be seen but his feet ; and mighty is the load he bears ; first, in the quantity of the embroidered cloth itself, amounting to not less than twelve ells ; and, farther, in the ornaments which decorate the upper part of this grand pageant. For these ornaments emblematic objects are selected, such as birds or beasts that are especially esteemed, some renowned man or celebrated woman, a forest covered with snow, the instruments of a particular trade, or something alluding to the prosperity of the country, or even of the single street, or that recalls the fame

or the simplicity of the early Japanese. Next follow the musicians, in great numbers, playing upon drums, cymbals, and flutes, strangely attired, headed by the *ottona*, or chief local municipal officer, and accompanied by a number of servants belonging to the street. Then appears a train of children, representing some expedition of one of their *mikados* or great heroes. This part of the show really merits admiration: clad and armed in the exact costume of the time, the leaders proceed in the utmost state, followed by all the pomp and luxury of a Japanese court, and surpassing every conceivable idea of dainty elegance. Each of these trains is attended by a number of small palanquins and servants, to take up any of the children who may be fatigued. After these comes a company of actors: in an instant, two or three benches of equal size are placed side by side; upon them, a few screens and decorations; and, to the sound of *syamsies* (a sort of guitar with three strings), drums, and other musical instruments, the actors perform their play, which does not occupy more than a quarter of an hour, but is represented with great spirit and freedom, as well in language as in gesture and feeling. When this is over, a crowd of musicians, palanquins, servants, and family connexions of the children follow, who close this train, and, moving onward, make way for the next.

“The first representation is in front of the straw hut already mentioned, in honour of the god Suwa, and all around the square sit a crowd of spectators, separate scaffoldings being assigned to the members of government, and to the Hollanders, who are invited to assist at the festival. The different representations take place in parts of the town previously appointed; and the eleven or twelve trains always follow each other so regularly that nothing like disorder occurs, notwithstanding the immense multitudes that attend the festival.

“When the first procession presents itself at sev-

en o'clock in the morning, it is usually noon before the last completes its performance; and until a late hour in the evening these processions are met in different quarters of the town, so that the strength and powers of the children must be severely tried. The festival lasts many days; but the 9th and 11th of the month (*i.e.*, the first and third days of the festival) are the most solemn, putting a stop to all business. The poorest artisan then appears as a gentleman, clad in his dress of ceremony; and all the houses are adorned, internally with carpets and screens, externally with hangings and awnings, under which friends entertain each other, making merrily all day long with eating, drinking, and music. Every street has to contribute to this expensive celebration once in about five or six years, and it is inconceivable how so great a waste is supported, as only a few trifling articles are ever used a second time, while everything for dress and decorations is purchased new and of the best materials. Thus is this religious solemnity, like every other in Japan, celebrated with universal demonstrations of joy, yet with such unanimity, mutual forbearance, delight, and order, that one might almost agree with the Japanese as to the impossibility of honouring or serving their gods more agreeably; and I may add, that so many and such various peculiarities belong to the *Matsuri* festival as to render a detailed and accurate description incompatible with the designed conciseness of this work."*

This, if it be the principal religious festival at Nagasaki, is by no means the only one employed to relieve the tedium of a life at Dezima. There are many others, various in form and character, and some exceedingly whimsical. Indeed, of one of these exhibitions it is hard to say whether it can be intended as a religious ceremony or merely as an

* Fischer.

amusement. The former supposition is, however, the most probable, from the circumstance of its being an annual festival held throughout the empire, and in the same style as it is witnessed by the Dutch at Nagasaki.

“ I know not whether it be to do the devil honour or to jeer at him that the Japanese, in their eighth month, take pleasure in contemplating a grotesque dance, performed in the streets by persons attired as demons, and duly horned and vizarded. These mummers have, besides, a drum hung about them, and are armed with a stick, with which beating the drum, they make a prodigious noise, and mark the measure for their dance ; but what most deserves mention is that their dresses are of various colours, to wit, black, white, red, and green. It is well known that white men represent the devil as black, while the negroes make theirs white ; but red and green devils are, I believe, wholly and solely Japanese. I long sought their reasons for these colours, and at length obtained the following explanation. Among the theological disputes of Japan, one arose concerning the colour of the devil ; one party affirming it to be black, a second white, a third red, and, finally, a fourth declared that the fiendish hue was green. This difference of opinion seemed likely to produce a civil war, when the judicious idea was started of submitting the question to the spiritual emperor, the *mikado*. The *Son of Heaven*, after a short deliberation, prevented the threatened evil by declaring all parties to be in the right, and sanctioning the belief in devils indiscriminately, whether black, white, red, or green. Since that time the Japanese devils have adopted the four colours ; and, thus tinted, dance once a year up and down the streets, to the great delight of the curious spectators, who, while they look on, no longer dream of menacing disputes.”*

* Meylan.

Of the other religious festivals, it may suffice to say, that there are two in every month ; the grandest annual festival is Newyear's Day, preceded by the imperative payment of all debts on Newyear's Eve ; the prettiest is one in which lighted lanterns are launched at night upon the bay, to ascertain, by their fate, the destiny of the souls of deceased relatives and friends ; the oddest, one in which men holding high official situations, and of advanced years, busy themselves in flying kites, the strings being thickly studded with broken glass, to cut, if possible, the string of a rival's kite ; and the most absurd, one in which the foul fiend is simultaneously expelled from every house, by dint of pelting him with boiled pease according to Meylan, with stones according to Fischer.

It has been stated that some of the shows at Nagasaki can only be seen clandestinely by the members of the factory. Of one which was so beheld, it is not easy to say whether it was intended to be civil or military. It was called a hunting procession of the governor's, but Fischer considers it to have been a sort of review ; and if his excellency were, indeed, only bent on the chase, his equipage might well be styled a hunting procession, or a state-hunting, either of which versions the Dutch expression will bear. But whether it was a hunting party or a military evolution, it was so original, as well in its composition as in the sort of mystery designedly attached to it, and in both so characteristic of the Japanese, as to be worth giving a full account of, notwithstanding the inevitable dryness of the following *programme*.

"We were permitted," says Fischer, "privately to see the train pass through Nagasaki. Such processions take place from time to time at Yedo, and probably at other towns of the empire as well as at Nagasaki. They are called state-huntings ; but there are grounds for calling them rather military

inspections, inasmuch as the whole train were in warlike equipment, and, besides the weapons used in the chase, a number of the men had heavy guns, likewise badges of distinction, as though they were taking the field. It was an awe-inspiring scene : every one appeared to sympathize in it while seeking to satisfy his curiosity ; but the majority gazed in silent respect, so that the procession moved on with the utmost order. The streets were neatly swept ; scarcely any one appeared in them ; and the inhabitants were seen peeping from behind the blinds, or the flags and hangings that decorated the houses. When the approach of the procession was announced, an earnest charge was given to refrain from laughter, and every demonstration of feeling that could create disturbance, or betray a want of due reverence. First walked four men with brooms, such as always precede the retinue of a great lord, admonishing the people with cries of ‘ *Stay, stay !* ’ which means, ‘ Sit, or bow you down.’ Their brooms are to clear away loose stones or any other slight obstructions to the march.

“ The following was the order of the procession :

“ Eight huntsmen with matchlocks* and lighted matches, all wearing flat lackered hats, a short upper garment of green calico, with a coat of arms on the breast, a sash of brownish riband, wide trousers, sandals bound to the feet, and a single short sword.

“ A *gobanyosi*, being one of the governor’s council or clerks, dressed like the preceding, only in silk, and having two swords.

“ Three servants in succession, carrying, the first a pike, the second two chests of clothes, the third two baskets of rainproof cloaks.

“ Three servants, each wearing two swords.

“ Five under police-officers, with two swords each.

“ Nine *ottonas*, or municipal superintendents of

* See Note IX.

districts, walking three and three, dressed in silk, with flat lackered hats, and each two swords.

“Eighteen of their attendants, in coloured linen, with flat straw hats.

“Seventy-two huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches, in couples, following each other at intervals of six feet.

“The bailiff of a neighbouring village, towards which the march led, in the usual dress of ceremony.

“Five servants.

“Ten huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches, in green linen upper dresses and brown lackered hats, leading four hounds by white cords.

“Two directors of the imperial rice-magazines, in brown silk upper garments and black lackered hats, each wearing two swords.

“Six servants of the latter, simply armed with swords.

“The commandant of the town-guard, magnificently attired, sitting on a horse which two servants led by the bridle (the usual mode of riding in Japan).

“Six huntsmen with metal blunderbusses.

“The commandant's son.

“A man carrying a massive Japanese weapon of about 50 lbs. Dutch weight, which the commandant is accustomed to hurl with a steady hand. I have since had an opportunity of closely examining this weapon, and found the account to be no fable: the officer in question attained his present rank in consequence of his extraordinary bodily strength.

“Ten huntsmen with blunderbusses of uncommon size, all nicely kept, and carried in stately guise, each one by two men.

“Fifteen men with common blunderbusses.

“Twenty-four men with large blunderbusses

“Twelve servants.

“At a short interval a banner-bearer, preceding

“The burgomaster Tukasima Sirobe Sama, also commissioner of the imperial treasury, on horse-

back, in an upper robe of gold stuff, with a brown lackered hat and golden arms, his horse led by two foot soldiers, and followed by

“Ten servants.

“A man bearing a long pike, its steel head incased in a beautifully lackered sheath.

“An embroidered flag.

“Six huntsmen with blunderbusses.

“The burgomaster Yaksizi Kuizaymon Sama, on horseback.

“Two servants.

“The burgomaster’s son.

“Four huntsmen with beautiful bows and arrows

“Six servants armed only with swords.

“The son of burgomaster Seyemon Sama.

“Two huntsmen with bows and arrows.

“Twenty-seven huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches.

“Eight servants with swords.

“A *gobanyosi*, or privy counsellor of the governor.

“Four servants.

“A pike-bearer.

“A servant with two lackered clothes-chests.

“A servant with two rain-cloak baskets.

“Thirty huntsmen, all under police-officers, with matchlocks and lighted matches.

“Six body-servants of the governor, each armed with two swords.

“A flag embroidered with gold letters on a white ground.

“Ten servants, each bearing a long pike, adorned with a lackered sheath and silk tassels.

“Forty-eight officials and servants, dressed in silk or linen, each having two swords.

“Eight servants with clothes-boxes.

“Four ditto with ditto of fine basket-work.

“Two cases of armour, being square cabinets, with magnificent covers, embroidered in gold, each case carried by two men.

“Two magnificently lackered sword-cases, adorned in the like beautiful style, and each carried by one man.

“A *tchabinto*, or tea-equipage, consisting of two cases hanging at the opposite ends of a pole, the one containing fire and a kettle of hot water, the other the remaining requisites for preparing tea at any moment.

“Two men carrying a lackered pail, water-scoop, and halter for the governor's horse.

“A saddle horse with beautiful trappings, led by two foot soldiers.

“Fourteen servants, each with two swords.

“Eight servants with rain-cloak baskets.

“Six servants, each with clothes-boxes.

“Three servants, each with two swords.

“The *gokaro*, or governor's secretary, on horseback.

“Four bearers, each with two clothes-chests.

“Four ditto, with two rain-cloak baskets.

“Six servants, each with two swords.

“Four ditto with long pikes.

“An ornament with feathers, like the governor's (to be presently described), but less costly.

“The burgomaster Fizamats Kify Sama on horseback.

“Two huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches.

“A pike-bearer.

“Two rain-cloak basket-bearers.

“The governor's palanquin, carried by two men, six other bearers running on either side, all stout, able-bodied men, dressed in blue linen, each with a sword by his side, and a coloured fan stuck in his girdle at his back.

“Twenty-seven huntsmen with bows and arrows.

“A *gobanyosi*, or clerk of the governor.

“Five servants, each with two swords.

“A pike-bearer.

- "A clothes-chest bearer.
- "A rain-cloak basket-bearer.
- "Ten huntsmen, armed.
- "Three ditto with blunderbusses.
- "Three ditto with hunting-horns.
- "One ditto with a large drum, beautifully lacquered, gilt, and adorned with silk tassels.
- "A civil-officer with two swords.
- "A *gobanyosi*, as before.
- "Five servants with swords.
- "A pike-bearer.
- "A clothes-chest bearer, as before.
- "Two rain-cloak basket-bearers.
- "An ornament, or mark of distinction, shaped like a broom, with beautiful feathers, and a flag of white cloth, embroidered with gold ciphers, attached to it.
- "Two long pikes, with sheaths of embroidered red cloth, hung with silk tassels.
- "A state bow in a yellow silk case.
- "Two long pikes, magnificently adorned, like the preceding.
- "A banner with gold letters on a red ground.
- "A *gobanyosi*, or cabinet secretary to the governor.
- "At an interval of some paces then followed the governor of Nagasaki, Mamyä Tsikfoezien No Cami Sama, riding a splendidly caparisoned horse, with two foot soldiers on either side. He was magnificently dressed in a garment of gold and silver cloth having on his head a lacquered helmet with glittering silver edges, and a coat of arms in gold: he wore two swords, and his staff of office was stuck in his girdle at his back. His deportment, like that of his whole retinue, was grave and haughty; and so profound a stillness prevailed as he passed, that one might have supposed himself in an uninhabited street instead of a place where so many thousands of spectators were congregated.

"The governor's banner, with gold letters embroidered on a blue ground.

"Five pike-bearers.

"Eleven servants, each wearing two swords.

"Fourteen huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches.

"The treasurer, Takaki Sakyemon, on horseback, and expensively attired.

"Two servants next the horse.

"The treasurer's son on horseback.

"Twelve servants, each with two swords.

"A considerable train of servants, carrying clothes-chests and other necessities, all in regular order.

"And this is the train of a governor of Nagasaki, who although invested with supreme authority here, at Yedo, at the *ziogoon's* court hardly enjoys the honour of carrying his majesty's slippers."

These different shows seem pretty nearly to exhaust all that can be said of the recreations permitted to the Dutch at Nagasaki, unless, indeed, the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions that occasionally vary the monotony of their existence be reckoned as such. The former, however, though frequent throughout the empire, and causing great damage in the towns and in the island generally, seldom much engage the attention of the Europeans, except when they are combined with volcanic eruptions. These they appear to consider more formidable. So recently as the year 1792, a new volcano manifested itself in the island of Kiusiu. The first eruption of this mountain, named the Wunzen, or, rather, series of eruptions and earthquakes, spread terror and desolation around; and, according to the description given of its terrific display of volcanic violence, might well have filled every one with dread and alarm.

"At five o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th of the first month," says Siebold, "the summit of the Wunzen suddenly sunk, and smoke and vapour burst forth. On the 6th of the following month an eruption oc-

curred in the Brivonokubi Mountain, situated on its eastern declivity, not far from the summit. On the 2d of the third month a violent earthquake, felt all over Kiusiu, so shook Simabara that no one could keep his feet. Terror and confusion reigned. Shock followed shock, and the volcano incessantly vomited forth stones, ashes, and lava, that desolated the country for miles around. At noon on the 1st of the fourth month another earthquake occurred, followed by reiterated shocks more and more violent. Houses were overthrown, and enormous masses of rock, rolling down from the mountain, crushed whatever lay in their way. When all seemed quiet and the danger was believed to be over, sounds like the roar of artillery were heard in the air and from under the ground, followed by a sudden eruption of the Myokenyama, on the northern slope of the Wunzendake. A large portion of this mountain was thrown up into the air, immense masses of rock fell into the sea, and boiling water, bursting through the crevices of its exploded sides, poured down, overflowing the low shore. The meeting of the two waters produced a phenomenon that increased the general terror. The whirling eddies formed waterspouts, that annihilated all they passed over. The devastation wrought in the peninsula of Simabara and the opposite coast of Figo by these united earthquakes and eruptions of the Wunzendake, with its collateral craters, is said to have been indescribable. In the town of Simabara every building was thrown down except the castle; the cyclopean walls of which, formed of colossal blocks of stone, defied the general destruction. The coast of Figo was so altered by its ravages as to be no longer recognisable. Fifty-three thousand human beings are said to have perished on this occasion."

This formidable mountain appears to be within about two days' journey of Dezima and Nagasaki, though nothing is said of any material damage wrought there at the time in question; and it must

be supposed to have remained since that time in a state of moderate action, if not of complete quiescence, or some of the Dutch residents would have certainly noticed it.

The hot springs connected with the Wunzendake are said to have been the scene and means of one variety of the tortures inflicted upon the native Christians; and we are told that the sores produced by pouring the naturally boiling water over them were singularly envenomed by its peculiar sulphurous quality. The volcano must therefore, even then, have been in what may be called a state of latent activity, although it had not yet exhibited its most terrific energies.

CHAPTER IV.

PERIODICAL JOURNEY TO YEDO.

Periods of the Yedo Journeys.—Preliminary Forms.—Numbers of the Party.—Honours paid to the Dutch President.—Array of the Party.—Travelling Arrangements.—Sights upon the Road.—*Ikko-seu* Temple.—Camphor-tree.—Mineral and Hot Springs.—Prince of Tsikuzen's Apartment.—Coal-mine.—Mode of obtaining a Fair Wind.—Examination at Aray.—River Oyegawa.—Mountain Foesi.—Examination at Fakone.—Anecdote.—Arrival.

To offer homage and presents, or tribute, annually to the *ziogoon*, or military chief of the empire, at Yedo, his place of residence and the seat of government, is the highest duty of every prince, dignitary, and noble throughout the Japanese realm, the neglect of which would be deemed most unpardonable; and it was as a sort of dignitary—being the governor of his own countrymen resident in Japan—that this

duty was imposed upon the head of the Dutch factory when the charter permitting them to establish a factory was first granted. This charter, obtained by the Hollanders from the successful usurper, Gongen-Sama, while they were settled at Firato, gave them, as before intimated, great privileges, which they afterward forfeited by their ignorance of the Japanese laws and customs. Upon Gongen-Sama's death, they petitioned his son and successor for a confirmation of his father's grant. Such an application was unprecedented in Japan. It was not merely a violation of the respect due to the *ziogoon*, but a positive insult, since asking him to confirm his father's act implied the supposition that he might alter or rescind it : an offence against filial duty and reverence such as no Japanese son conceives to be even possible. The Dutch were accordingly punished for their distrust. Their petition was not rejected, but the new charter granted them very greatly reduced their privileges.

For upward of a century the Dutch head of the factory repaired annually, with a large retinue of his countrymen as well as of Japanese, to Yedo, and presented his tribute and homage at the foot of the throne. But the trade between Japan and Batavia gradually falling off, these annual journeys were felt to be burdensome ; they were consequently rendered less frequent, and, since the year 1790, have been limited to every fourth year. But the presents, being esteemed of more value than their homage, were not to be so easily dispensed with ; and these are duly transmitted during the three intermediate years by means of the interpreters, at a much less expense. Since the restoration of Java to the Dutch, however, at the general peace, it appears that the trade of the factory has much revived ; whereupon *Opperhoofd* Blomhoff solicited permission to visit Yedo every alternate year ; but his request was rejected by the *ziogoon's* government.

The preparations for the Yedo journey are long and formal. When the regular time of departure draws near, the *opperhoofd* sends a communication to the governor of Nagasaki through the proper official channel, respectfully inquiring whether a visit from him will be acceptable at Yedo. The governor replies that the *opperhoofd's* homage will be received, and desires him to provide for the maintenance of order in the factory during his absence. The warehouse-master, as being next in rank and authority to the *opperhoofd*, is uniformly the person selected to supply the place of the absent head ; and, as deputy-manager of the factory, is always presented to the governor by the *opperhoofd* at his audience of leave* prior to his departure.

Originally the *opperhoofd* was attended to Yedo by twenty of his countrymen ; a goodly train, which, it is needless to say, can no longer be supplied by the factory, reduced to its present scale. The number of the retinue has been gradually diminished, probably in proportion with that of the members of the factory ; and, since the journey has been rendered quadrennial instead of annual, the Dutch visitors have been limited to three, namely, the *opperhoofd*, his secretary, and his physician.

The number of the Japanese, however, permitted to accompany the Dutch on this journey is not thus limited. At the head of the whole is a principal police-officer (a *gobanyosi*), with whom rests the entire conduct of the expedition. The purse, however, is not in his hands, but in those of the chief interpreter, who receives a sum of money sufficient to defray all the expenses of the visit, which sum, like the other factory debts, is deducted from the proceeds of the next sale, or, rather, from that of a lot of goods specially appropriated to this object, but never producing enough to cover the amount ; the

* See Note X.

remainder being supplied by the Japanese government: a circumstance that may explain the refusal to admit of more frequent visits to Yedo. Of persons of inferior rank there are under police-officers, under interpreters, clerks, baggage-masters, superintendents of bearers, &c.; in all about thirty-five persons, who are appointed by the governor. Then there are attendants to wait upon all these Dutch and Japanese: to wit, three cooks—two for the Dutch, one for the Japanese—two upper and five under servants, besides thirty-two other servants, of whom six are for the Dutch. These last are usually considered spies; and here again we make the remark, that governments do not rely upon spies, officially known as such, for information. In addition to these, and the native attendants allotted to them, each one of the Dutch may, if he please, at his own charge, take a Japanese physician, a private interpreter, and other servants. Accordingly, Dr. Von Siebold, when in the year 1826 he accompanied *Op-perhoofd* Colonel Van Sturler to Yedo, added to the train a young native physician, an artist, and six servants, to aid him in his natural researches. A Japanese pupil of the German doctor's, not being permitted to attend his instructor in that character, followed him as a servant to one of the interpreters. In fact, no restrictions appear to exist respecting the number of Japanese who may, upon this occasion, be engaged and supported by the foreign traders; but the name of every individual must be previously submitted to the governor of Nagasaki for his approbation: one object of which probably is, to ensure a due proportion of unsuspected spies among the servants.

Every article of convenience and comfort required by the principal travellers during the journey they must take with them, such as linen, bedding, tables and chairs for the Europeans, table-service, *batterie d'écrit*, &c., &c. They likewise provide them.

selves with wine, cheese, butter, and the like, which, not being in use in Japan, are sent from Batavia to the factory; also sweetmeats, cakes, and liqueurs, of which an immense stock appears to be requisite, to entertain their Japanese visitors. When to these indispensables are added the wardrobe of the whole company, the presents destined as well for the *ziogoon* as for the several great men entitled to such tribute of respect, and the goods carried for clandestine trading; and when it is farther understood that, the Japanese roads not always admitting of wheel carriages, carts are not used for the conveyance of this baggage, but everything is carried by men, or on pack-horses and oxen, some idea may be formed of the immense number of bearers, attendants upon beasts of burden, &c., &c., required for this journey. Part of the baggage is indeed sent by sea from Nagasaki to a port in the larger northern island, Nippon, on which are the residences both of the autocrat by right divine, the *mikado*, and of his vicegerent, the *ziogoon*; but when the Dutch deputation lands on Nippon, this portion of the baggage joins the rest, and in the subsequent land-journey to Yedo the train often amounts to two hundred persons. Such a retinue appears abundantly grand and cumbersome, and might induce the reader to believe that the position and dignity of the factory president has been unduly depreciated. Far different, however, is the aspect of his travelling array to Japanese eyes. The trains with which the princes of the empire visit Yedo amount in number to ten thousand men for those of the lowest rank, and twenty thousand for those of the highest; whence it will be seen that his retinue of only two hundred persons does not very extravagantly exalt the mercantile foreigner.

The journey to Yedo is, nevertheless, the occasion upon which the European dignitary enjoys the most honourable distinctions ever conceded to him, and also the least liberty (a privation which, in Japan,

invariably accompanies distinction); and all the writers who describe it concur in asserting, that upon the road he is treated with the full complement of respect shown to princes. He travels in a *norimono*; but, to enable the reader properly to estimate this honour, it must be stated that there are in Japan two kinds of palanquins, called, the one a *norimono*, for the higher, the other a *cago*, for the lower ranks: and that these again, especially the *norimonos*, are subdivided, and allotted to different classes of dignitaries, according to the length and shape of the poles, the mode of holding them, the pace and number of the bearers, and the like: the whole being in shape and form something between a palanquin and a sedan chair, but less roomy and commodious than the former, inasmuch as they are too short to admit of the traveller's lying down, though they are far more comfortable than the latter. The sides are lackered, the windows can be closed with blinds, and the top is in the shape of a house-roof, under the ridge of which the pole is passed. Now the *opperhoofd* travels in a *norimono* of the kind appropriated to very high rank, by the side of which is borne the tea equipage already described: an indulgence restricted nearly, if not exclusively, to personages sufficiently exalted to be entitled to use a *norimono* of this description. He remains in his *norimono* where all others, princes and imperial governors excepted, are obliged to alight and walk. The *gobanyosi* every morning asks his pleasure as to the halts for dining and sleeping, although, these being fixed by invariable custom, the answer given is wholly immaterial; and Siebold says that when any change is desired, it must be arranged beforehand at Nagasaki. The three Dutch travellers are lodged in inns of the first class, frequented by princes, governors, and nobles; or, where there are none such at the halting-place, in temples; while the Japanese officials, even those of the greatest consequence, occupy

second-rate inns, except at such large towns as Ohosaka and Miyako, where, probably for the closer custody of the foreigners, the police-officers are quartered in the same houses with the Dutch. Everywhere the *opperhoofd* is received by his host in full dress, with the national compliment of welcome; and, finally, men, women, and children upon the road either perform a salutation closely resembling the Chinese *kotoo* on such occasions, or turn their back upon him: a somewhat singular Japanese demonstration of reverence, designed to intimate that the person so turning away is unworthy to look upon the person turned from. This last mark of respect is described by Thunberg, who adds, that the highest possible expression of honour is first to *kotoo*, and then turn the back.

These are asserted to be the identical honours paid to princes; but lest too lofty a conception of the dignity of a Dutch factory president should be formed from this statement, it becomes necessary to explain, from Siebold, that these honours are shown him, not in that character, nor, as Fischer would fain persuade his readers and himself, as the representative of the Dutch nation, but simply as a person, however lowly, about to be glorified by admission into the presence of the *ziogoon*.

The journey is divided into three portions: to wit, the land-journey across the island of Kiusiu, which occupies about seven days; the sea-voyage, through a sort of archipelago of small islands, to Nippon, occupying from four or seven to fourteen days, partly as the wind favours or opposes, partly as the travellers are disposed or suffered to loiter at their nightly island quarters; and the second land-journey, across Nippon to Yedo, occupying twenty-two or twenty-three days of actual travelling, besides those spent at Ohosaka and Miyako. The whole journey from Dezima to Yedo is estimated at 345 leagues, and is usually performed in about seven weeks. Very full itin-

eraries have been given by different writers who have been of these parties, but they are only in a very few of their details interesting to European readers. The arrangement and appearance of the body of travellers are, from their dissimilarity to anything European, somewhat curious, and are particularly described by Fischer and Siebold, who visited Yedo, the one in 1822, the other in 1826.

The presents lead the way, duly escorted, and are followed by the baggage. Then, at a proper interval, comes the living procession.

A baggage-master and superintendent of bearers go first, and are followed by two inferior police-officers or *banyoos*, in *norimonos* of the lowest class (Doeff says in *cagos*), but each attended by his servant, and two bearers of clothes-chests. And here it may be stated, to avoid prolixity and repetition, that every *norimono* and *cago* is accompanied by all the servants belonging to its occupant, and the number of bearers of clothes-chests and rain-cloak baskets appropriate to his rank.

A clerk of the interpreters. Then come the under interpreter and the vice under interpreter, in their *cagos*, properly attended.

The Dutch physician, preceded by his medicine chest, and borne in a *norimono* of somewhat superior character to those before mentioned.

The secretary in a similar *norimono*.

A superintendent of *norimonos*.

Two superintendents of bearers.

The Dutch president, with eight bearers, who relieve each other, and whose dresses are adorned with the initials of the United Netherland (*i. e.*, Dutch) East India Company, U. N. O. I. C.

A servant, carrying shoes and slippers in a leathern box.

The *tchao-binto*, or tea equipage.

A bearer with a seat.

The president's counting-house, as it is called: a

sort of cabinet or scrutoire of black lacker-work, ornamented with silver, and covered with a red cloth, upon which the initials of the Dutch East India Company are embroidered in gold. Originally the charter granted by the *ziogoon* to the Dutch was carried in this cabinet ; but that document is now left at Dezima (thus does change sometimes occur even in the immutable East), and its former sacred receptacle serves for the president's papers and other valuables. It is borne by three men.

Four clothes-chests, containing the changes of raiment required by the president upon the road.

Four of the same for the secretary and the physician.

Two bearers with rain-cloak baskets.

The chief interpreter in his *norimono*, followed by his money-chest, clothes-chests, and rain-cloak baskets.

The *gobanyosi* in his *norimono*, with his attendants
A pike-bearer.

A chest of armour.

Clothes-boxes and cloak-baskets.

The *banyoos*, with some servants; either in *cagos* or on foot, and the remainder of the luggage, close the train.

At all the regular stages throughout Japan, there are supplies of bearers to be hired by travellers after the manner of posthorses ; but in the Dutch journey to Yedo these relays are not used. Bearers are engaged for certain fixed portions of the journey ; for example, one set carries the party and the luggage across the island of Kiusiu. These men perform their day's work, occasionally of not less than seventeen hours, without any appearance of great fatigue, take a hot bath on reaching the sleeping station, and are ready by daybreak the next morning to resume their burdens.

In the days of Kämpfer, it seems the governor of Nagasaki was in the habit of visiting or meeting

the Dutch president at the moment of his departure, to wish him a prosperous journey. He now contents himself with sending a message to that effect : but if numbers can compensate for dignity, the want of his personal presence must be but little felt, as every Japanese officially connected with the factory, or acquainted with any of the travellers, meets them at a temple just without Nagasaki, or accompanies them thither, to drink with them a farewell cup of *sakee*.

During the journey across Kiusiu, the whole party are entertained by the respective princes whose provinces they traverse. A detachment of troops meets them on the borders, compliments the Dutch president in the prince's name, and escorts him through the principality. At Kokura, a seaport of Kiusiu, where they embark, they leave their palanquins of all descriptions to await their return. On the voyage they land every night to sleep ; and here again they are entertained at the cost of the princes to whom the islands respectively belong. The wind proving unfavourable to Fischer in this voyage, he was detained for a considerable time among these small islands, the inhabitants of which endeavoured to make the time of the Dutch travellers pass as agreeably as the orders of the *gobanyosi* would allow. Indeed, this officer himself, and the chief interpreter, appear to be generally disposed to indulge their foreign charge as far as they consistently can, and to do the honours of their country to them, by showing them whatever is most worthy of notice ; and Siebold expresses his conviction that the complaints of the Dutch originate almost invariably either in their ignorance or penuriousness. The sum of money received by the interpreter being the precise amount necessary to defray the expenses of the journey as prescribed by custom, any extra expenditure incurred by a deviation from the direct road, or by a prolonged stay in a place where the

party is not entertained by some prince, would fall upon himself in case the Dutch did not provide for it. That he should voluntarily subject himself to such expense, it would be absurd to expect; but Siebold is satisfied from his own experience, that, if so provided for and mentioned in time, many indulgences of this kind might be obtained. It is required, however, that Yedo be reached by a fixed time, the reason of which will appear hereafter.

The roads, generally speaking, are good, and sufficiently wide for the passage even of such travelling retinues as we have described. It is owing to the mountainous character of the country, a plain being scarcely anywhere to be found, and the practice of forming the roads in steps over the mountains, that wheel-carriages can be so little used. Most of the roads are bordered by trees. They are constantly kept clean, as much through the diligence of the peasantry in collecting manure as in honour of distinguished travellers, and the sides are thronged with the manufacturers and sellers of straw shoes for horses and oxen. This is the only kind of shoe used for these animals, and its rapid consumption affords ample occupation to great numbers.

It may be added, that roadbooks, containing every species of information important to travellers, down to a minutely accurate table of rates, charges, and prices for bearers at inns, ferries, &c., abound in Japan.

The objects presented to the notice of the Dutch travellers on their way to Yedo are various natural curiosities, warm and mineral springs, with bathing establishments attached to them, temples, fine prospects, &c.; the last of which are very commodiously enjoyed, as, wherever any point commands a prospect remarkable for its beauty, if there be no temple with its banqueting-rooms, a tea-house is almost certain to be found. Interesting and agreeable as these different objects may be to the visiter of

Japan, the notice of only a few of them will probably satisfy our readers.

Nothing in the journey across Kiusiu appears to have impressed Siebold more than his visit to a Buddhist temple of the *Ikko-seu* sect at Yagami, where the party dined the day they left Nagasaki. It presented a rare instance of such a temple being almost entirely exempt from idols, as there was only a single image, designed to represent the One Supreme God, Amida. The bonzes of this sect are the only Buddhist priests in Japan allowed to marry and to eat meat. Their faith Siebold considers to be a pure monotheism.

A camphor-tree, mentioned by Kämpfer in 1691, as already celebrated for its size, hollow from age, and supposed to have been thirty-six feet in circumference, though from its standing on a hill it was not actually measured, was visited by Siebold in 1826. He found it still healthy, and rich in foliage, though then one hundred and thirty-five years older. He and his pupils measured it, and he gives 16'884 metres (about fifty feet) as its circumference; adding, in confirmation of this enormous size, that fifteen men could stand within it.

At Tsuka-sake is a celebrated hot-spring, with a bathing establishment for invalids. Colonel Van Sturler and his party were permitted to bathe in the Prince of Fizen's own bath, and were much struck by the superlative cleanliness observed here; as an instance of which, Siebold states that the water, although clear as crystal, was made to pass through hair sieves into the bath, to guard against the possible introduction of any impurity. While speaking of princely establishments, it may be added, that the same party passed a night in a country palace of the Prince of Tsikuzen, where his highness's own apartments were assigned to the colonel. These apartments consisted only of an anteroom and a bed-chamber, which last, like most others in Japan, be-

came a sitting-room after the bedding had been stowed away in a chest for the day; an operation of no great difficulty, as the said bedding was composed only of a thin mattress for each person, a wooden bolster, and a wadded pillow or cushion to be laid on it. 'This bolster is in fact a tiny chest of drawers, and is the established receptacle of small and highly-valuable articles. 'The walls of the Prince of Tsikuzen's rooms are of cedar-wood, highly polished and coloured; the division between them is made by screens of gilded paper, in gilded and lackered frames, removable at pleasure. 'They open into a garden, containing, as usual, a small *miya* or chapel. The chief peculiarities of these apartments were, first, a cleanliness and neatness perfectly luxurious; and next, their great simplicity and diminutive size, considered as being destined for the occupation of a ruling prince; but the most observable thing of all is a large closet, resembling a cage, formed out of a corner of the anteroom, in which the chamberlain in attendance is condemned habitually to pass his hours alone: there, unseen and unobtrusive, waiting and watching for his highness's commands.

Perhaps the most important object mentioned by any traveller in Kiusiu is the coal of which Siebold speaks as being there in use. At Koyanose he saw a coal fire, which must have been very acceptable, as the journey is always begun in February, when the country, he says, wears its winter garb; and he frequently mentions frost. He visited a coal-mine at Wuku-moto, and though not allowed to descend the shaft more than half way, or about sixty steps, he saw enough to satisfy him that the mine was well and judiciously worked. The upper strata which he saw were only a few inches thick; but he was told that the lower beds were many feet in thickness, and he says that the blocks of coal drawn up confirm the statement. The coal, being bituminous in its na-

ture, appears to be made into coke for use ; and, perhaps, independent of this reason for thus preparing it, it may be more agreeable in that form to a people whose general fuel is charcoal.

The voyage from Kiusiu ordinarily affords but little that is worth dwelling upon. The following occurrence, however, is illustrative of the Japanese character, and may therefore claim a passing notice. In 1822, when contrary and tempestuous winds had unusually prolonged the passage, the Japanese sailors flung overboard a small barrel of *sakee* and a certain number of copper coins, to propitiate the god Kompira, and obtain favourable weather. The money of course sank, and thus it is hoped found its intended way to the deity it was meant to appease ; but the barrel floated, and was picked up by some fishermen. Does the reader suppose that the finders appropriated to themselves this favourite and readily-intoxicating liquor ? He would do them great injustice. They well knew the meaning of the act, and honestly carried the offering to the proper temple.

Upon landing, to begin their journey across Nippon, the travellers find palanquins and all other necessities in lieu of those left at Kokura, and set forward on their way. The first place of any note they reach is Ohosaka, one of the five great imperial cities, and a chief emporium of internal trade. But, although the travellers rest here a day or two, they are not allowed to see anything. The numerous visits they receive, especially from physicians and their patients, are all paid in a clandestine way. Even the presents destined for the governor of Ohosaka cannot now be offered, but are left in deposite in the town, to be given when the *opperhoofd*, having had his audience of the *ziogoon*, shall be authorized to show his liberality to inferior personages. The only business they are allowed to transact on these

journeys is, to order goods to be manufactured for them against their return.

Travelling a day and a half, the party arrives at Miyako, the nominal capital of the empire, as being the seat of the *dairi*, or court of the autocrat *mikado*. Here likewise they are allowed a brief rest, but are more closely immured than at Ohosaka, though more numerous visited. These visits are for the most part clandestine ; but they are formally waited upon by the secretaries of certain official personages, with compliments of welcome. The presents intended for the Miyako grandees are left in deposit, as in the former case ; a passport is obtained from the grand judge, who resides here as the *ziogoon's* representative to the *mikado's* court, and the longest and most arduous portion of the journey begins.

Between Miyako and Yedo, the nobles of the country, with troops of attendants, are frequently met ; and, after some days' travelling, occasionally a prince, with his numerous retinue. The princes of the empire are not earlier encountered, since they avoid passing through Miyako, where every member of the *dairi* is esteemed their superior in rank. The Dutch caravan gives way only to persons of princely dignity ; and it is somewhat remarkable that no mention is made of inconvenience of any kind from the meeting of such large bodies of travellers, either on the road or at the inns : the effect, perhaps, of previous arrangement and great order in all their proceedings.

Half way between the two capitals is a shallow lake, on the Miyako shore of which stands the town of Aray, the station of the great Yedo guard. So important is this post esteemed, that the prince within whose territory it lies, and whose troops furnish the guard, is almost invariably a member of the council of state. No one may pass Aray towards Yedo without the grand judge's passport, nor any woman unless she has the most express permission ; so that, besides the examination of their papers and baggage

to guard against the introduction of contraband goods, travellers are obliged to submit to a personal inquest, lest at any time a woman should be smuggled through in male attire ; a crime, the perpetration of which would infallibly cost the lives of the offending female, of her male companions, and of the guards whose watchfulness had been thus deceived. Why such vigilance is observed in regard to persons visiting Yedo, is nowhere satisfactorily explained ; the avowed object of it, however, is to prevent the escape of the wives of princes, governors, and other men in high office, whose families are detained at court as hostages for the fidelity of the husband and father.

When every customary form has been gone through, a vessel belonging to the prince, but bearing on this occasion the Dutch flag, carries the whole party across the lake. The next day they are ferried over the rapid river Tenriogawa, the sand of which abounds in grains of gold, which Fischer says the Japanese do not understand the art of separating from the earthy matter ; which, if it be true, is not a little remarkable, as their skill in metallurgy is highly praised.

But a river that, without being auriferous, is much more renowned in Japan, is the Oyegawa, which is crossed the following day. This river has so much of the torrent character that neither bridges nor ferry-boats are practicable, and it must consequently be passed by fording : an operation rendered dangerous, as well as difficult, by the unevenness of the bottom, which is thickly strewed with large blocks of stone. Upon the banks are stationed persons, whose business it is to conduct travellers across. These people are responsible for the safety of man, beast, and baggage ; and the number of them required to attend upon each, as well as their remuneration, is fixed by law, according to the depth of the water. The bed of the river is about a quar-

ter of a mile broad, of which, when Fischer crossed, the stream occupied not more than fifty feet, the water reaching to a man's breast. It need scarcely be stated that after heavy rains this river is often impassable, and travellers are detained many days upon its banks. Though our party did not experience this inconvenience, still, even then from twelve to sixteen men were required for their *norimono*, and the pedestrians were carried over on the shoulders of the guides. The celebrity of the Oyegawa has been already alluded to: it furnishes the Japanese painters with their most favourite landscapes, the Japanese poets and moralists with their most striking metaphors and illustrations.

In these respects, however, the river is rivalled by the mountain Foesi, the next most remarkable object on the route. This mountain is by far the loftiest in Japan, its elevation having been estimated, though without any actual measurement, at from ten to twelve thousand feet;* and it is always crowned with snow. For this reason, and on account of the cold and tempestuous winds said to prevail on its summit, a pilgrimage to its top—the ascent to which, Thunberg says, occupies three days—is considered a highly meritorious act of devotion. This pilgrimage is particularly incumbent on the *yamaboesi*, who, although not prohibited from marrying, may be regarded as a species of monks. They live a sort of hermit-life, devoted to religious exercises and superstitious observances of different kinds. Their daughters are the mendicant nuns, of whom mention has been made.

Foesi was formerly an active and much-dreaded volcano; but so long a period (upward of a century) has elapsed since its last eruption, that all apprehension in regard to it seems to have subsided, and the inhabitants of the rich and lovely adjacent region live

* Parker.

in the most perfect security. The mountain itself is described as being singularly beautiful, as well as imposing in its character, commanding the admiration of the traveller from the time it is first fairly seen, at a distance of two days' journey. As the road runs for a considerable distance along its foot, a full view is afforded of its sublime beauties; and at the village of Motoitsiba, where it appears to the greatest advantage, a peasant hospitably offers the traveller refreshments, the principal article of which is a preparation of *sakee* with snow from Foesi, bearing some resemblance to the ice-creams of Europe. As a reward for his entertainment he receives a *koban*, a Japanese gold coin worth \$6.36.

At no great distance from Foesi the Dutch travellers begin the toilsome ascent of another mountain, or, rather, mountainous ridge, which is to be crossed. Its name is Fakone, and it is said to offer the most splendid views of savage nature, mingled with high cultivation and exuberant fertility. On a spot affording the most admired of all these views, an establishment is fitted up for the reception of travelling grandees, where tea, confectionery, and other dainties are served by beautiful damsels. Upon this mountain another guard is stationed to prevent unlawful communication with Yedo; and a curious anecdote is related of a trick practised upon this Fakone guard, and the combined artifice and force by which the threatened consequences of it were averted.

An inhabitant of Yedo, named Fiyosayemon, a widower with two children, a girl and a boy, was called to a distance on business. Being poor, he knew not how to provide for his children during his absence, and resolved to take them with him. Accordingly, he dressed his daughter in boy's clothes, and thus passed the Fakone guard unsuspected. As he was rejoicing at his success, a man who knew his children joined him, congratulated him on his

good fortune, and asked for something to drink. The alarmed father offered him a trifling sum ; the man demanded a gratuity beyond his means to give ; a quarrel ensued, and the enraged individual ran back to the guard to inform them of the error that had been committed. The guard were thunder-struck. If the informer spoke the truth, and the fact should be detected, their lives were inevitably forfeited ; yet to send a party to apprehend the offenders, though they might thus betray themselves, was absolutely necessary. The commanding officer, however, saw his remedy. He delayed the detachment of reluctant pursuers a sufficient time to allow a messenger, accompanied by a little boy, to outstrip them. He found Fiyosayemon and his children refreshing themselves at an inn ; announced the discovery which had been made, and the imminent danger which threatened them ; offered the boy as a temporary substitute for the disguised girl ; and told the father that, when the falsehood of the charge had been proved by both the children appearing to be boys, he might very fairly fly into a rage and kill his accuser. The offer was, of course, gratefully accepted. A short time afterward the dilatory guard arrived, surrounded the house, seized upon Fiyosayemon, and, to their inexpressible joy, found that both the children were boys. The informer, who well knew Fiyosayemon's family, declared that some imposition had been practised, which the accused indignantly resenting, drew his sword and struck off the informer's head. The delighted guard exclaimed that such a liar had only met his deserts, and returned to their post ; while the father, receiving back his daughter in place of the substituted boy, went his way rejoicing.*

Forty-eight days after leaving Dezima, the deputation accompanied by Fischer arrived at Kawasaki, within a short distance of Yedo.

* Titsingh's *Japanese Annals*.

“ We more and more plainly perceived,” says he, “ that we were approaching a large town : bustle of every kind, numerous retinues, the increased size of the houses of entertainment, even some little diversity in dress and manners, distinctly proclaimed it ; and in the evening we were surprised by the appearance of Sazyuro, the interpreter, then resident at Yedo, who came with one of his friends to bid us welcome. The landlord of Nagasakkyā, as the quarters assigned to the Hollanders at Yedo are called, likewise visited us here to pay his compliments.

“ By daybreak on the 27th all was commotion and hurry, every one being alike busy. Attired in our best clothes, we quitted Kawasaki at nine o'clock in the morning, crossed the River Rokfugawa, and at half past eleven entered Sinagawa, a suburb of Yedo, amid an immense concourse of people. Here we were detained for some time to receive visits from numerous friends and acquaintance, who came to welcome the chief police-officer and the interpreter as well as ourselves.

“ At about two o'clock we again set forward, passing by the palace of the Prince of Satsuma, who in 1818 had visited the *opperhoofd* in person. Our train was preceded and accompanied by a body of soldiers belonging to the city, chiefly for the purpose of preserving order. The streets were so thronged with people that at times we could scarcely see anything of the buildings ; and although our escort very unceremoniously drove them back, it did not prevent our bearers from being inconveniently crowded. We passed along wide streets, paved on both sides with stone, and, as in other towns, lined by uniformly built houses. We saw also very large edifices and shops, the latter protected by awnings. In front of these, and of every place where goods were exhibited for sale, stand a number of lads, who clamorously recommend the wares to draw the attention of passengers. Here, as in England, great account

is made of signs and inscriptions over their shops, and although there are no carriages to increase the tumult, I can compare the bustle of Yedo to nothing but that of London.

“Long before we entered Sinagawa we were moving in the midst of an unnumbered multitude, and along wide streets which may be considered as part of the town; and from the suburb to our residence we were full two hours on our way, proceeding at a steady pace, and rather faster than usual. Nagasakkyā lies close to the imperial palace, which is situated in the centre of the town, and estimated to occupy an extent of ground measuring half a mile in diameter, from which calculation we may reckon the diameter of the town at five or six hours’ moderate walking.”

CHAPTER V.

STAY AT YEDO.

Yedo. — Palace. — Visitors. — Physicians and Astronomers. — Grandees and Ladies. — Silk-mercator. — Conflagration. — Anecdote respecting new Lodgings. — Audience of the *Ziogoön*. — Ceremonious Visits. — Presents. — Forms in Kämpfer’s time. — Japanese Fancy for Dutch Names. — Banquet.

THE Dutch deputation being now fairly housed at Yedo, our readers will naturally expect, from some one of the writers who have given an account of these expeditions, a description of the court and capital of Japan. But in Nagasakkyā, at Yedo, the strangers are far more closely imprisoned than in their artificial island at Nagasaki; and, except in case of some such accident as will be presently described, see little more of the place than the streets leading to their quarters, and thence to the palace. The particulars

they relate, therefore, rest for the most part on the authority of their friends ; and this being the case, a very brief notice of the city may suffice, to introduce the more detailed account of the Dutch proceedings there.

The town stands at the head of a bay or estuary, round which it extends in the form a crescent ; but as the water is, for many miles below Yedo, too shallow to admit vessels of considerable burden, it has nothing of the character of a seaport. The harbour, indeed, is reported by Dr. Parker, apparently on the authority of fishermen on the coast, to be as much as eighteen or twenty leagues from the capital. In its style of building and general appearance Yedo resembles other Japanese towns, differing from them principally in its extraordinary size, its entire circumference being estimated at from fifty to sixty miles. But although the population is reckoned by different writers at from 500,000 to 2,000,000, and by Captain Golownin even at 8,000,000, the vast extent of the city is partly owing to the great space in its centre occupied by the imperial palace, to walk round which, it is said by some late writers, requires three hours, while Thunberg gives it the still greater circumference of fifteen miles. This is in some measure accounted for by the facts that the palace precincts comprehend not only the residence of the *zio-goon* himself, with his numerous household, and the separate dwellings of his many concubines, but also the mansions of his eldest son and other adult members of his family, and those of certain high functionaries, besides gardens, pleasure-grounds, and woods for his recreation : the nominally despotic vicegerent of Japan being, by the customs of his court and government, virtually almost a prisoner within the spacious limits of his palace. This *rus in urbe*, or princely country residence within the city, is not enclosed by walls, but encircled by a wet fosse, supplied from the river that runs through the centre of the town

into the estuary or bay on which it stands. Across this river, in the heart of Yedo, is thrown the celebrated bridge called *Nippon-bas*, from which, as from a central point, distances to all parts of the empire are measured.

In this vast town the Dutch deputation is shut up in four back rooms of a house, the more open parts of which are assigned to their Japanese companions and attendants; and here they are closely confined until the day of audience. The Japanese of their party, to the very bearers, are doomed to the same imprisonment; the head police-officer being forbidden not only to visit his family, but to receive any visits from them; and the observance of this seclusion is enforced by guards placed at the door. Formerly the presents also, for a time, shared the captivity of those who brought them; but since their narrow escape from being lost in a conflagration, of which more by-and-by, they have been secured from such danger by immediate conveyance to the castle, where, undelivered and unseen till the day of audience, they remain under the care of one of the two governors of Nagasaki whose turn it is to reside at court.

Still this seclusion at Yedo, relieved, as at Miyako, by official visits of inquiry from the governor of Nagasaki in person, and from the secretaries of the ministers who have the superintendence of foreigners, is little more than nominal. The *gobanyosi* and their other Japanese fellow-prisoners, who naturally choose to see their own relations and friends privately, indulge the Dutch with similar clandestine visits from such persons as are willing to purchase the gratification by a bribe; and, in fact, it is evident that this constant *nayboen* infringement of the laws is connived at by government, as it cannot be supposed that all their spies neglect to report it.

The Dutch give their reception-room a European air, with chairs, tables, carpet, and the like; and thus,

in their Yedo residence, with the exception of those grandees who come officially, every one is received in European style. Their most frequent visitors are the four court physicians, and the imperial astronomer; all better Dutch scholars than the interpreters, and anxious to make the most of the opportunities thus offered them of acquiring information respecting the latest scientific discoveries: an appreciation of the superiority of European knowledge which strikingly distinguishes the Japanese from the self-sufficient Chinese. Siebold (whose testimony is, from his own character for learning, most satisfactory) says that the questions both of the physicians and astronomers discovered a proficiency in their respective sciences which, considering their deficient means of acquiring information, greatly astonished him. And it may be added, in proof of the acuteness and cultivation of the Japanese intellect, that the objections and difficulties started by the priests in their arguments with the first missionaries are reported to have been singularly astute and logical. The most acceptable present that can be offered to these literati is a new scientific publication in the Dutch language. Many of those formerly given them they have translated into Japanese, some of Laplace's works, even, included.

These learned men are members of the Yedo College. Such colleges, which the Dutch writers compare to their own high-schools, are said to exist in many of the great cities; but the most distinguished for the erudition of their professors are those of Yedo and Miyako, though the latter appears more to resemble an academy of sciences.

Those we have mentioned, however, are by no means the only visitors of the Dutch. "We had no want," says Fischer, "of merchants and shopkeepers, who offered us the most beautiful wares, infinitely better and much cheaper than are to be had at Nagasaki. If they did not bring any prohibited articles with them, they willingly sent for whatever we de-

sired. Great personages always came late in the evening, and their arrival was commonly preceded by a present, consisting of silks, lacker-work, fine paper, fans, letter-cases, tobacco-boxes and pipes, or such rarities as they know the Hollanders prize. When the present was costly, the *opperhoofd* always gave something in return; but it was necessary to do this very circumspectly, and through a third hand. Our envoy was specially diligent in thus winning the favour of those officials on whom our business depends. Although no women could lawfully be admitted to us, the concourse of our fair visiters was greater here than anywhere else. One gentleman would sometimes bring with him six ladies, especially in an evening, on which occasions our large stock of confectionery and liqueurs suffered prodigious reductions.

“At these visits the ladies often unpacked our trunks of clothes, expressing much wonder at the form of our garments, as well as curiosity concerning the mode of wearing them. We were thus obliged to present them with some of the more valuable articles, either directly, or through their servants sent to receive them. At all events, something as a remembrance they must have, were it but a couple of Dutch words written upon their fans. The *opperhoofd's* *Dezima* servants, who all understand Dutch, are usually our underhand interpreters; and, indeed, the princes and other high personages who came to visit us *nayboen*, preferred employing our servants rather than the government interpreters in that capacity. These grandees rarely made themselves known until the next day, when they sent a secretary with a present and their thanks for our reception of them. They were accordingly received without any ceremony, and often came in the dress of the middle classes, as did their attendants, who if the prince was right well pleased and merry, became very familiar, and wrote down as much of our

answers to their inquiries as they desired to recollect. The princes were always friendly, conversable, and unwearied questioners respecting European arts, sciences, customs, and manners, and concerning the locality and government of Holland and of our East Indian possessions; but they never alluded to Japanese policy. Thus we received visits from the princes of Matsmai and Tamba, the Prince of Mito, brother to the emperor, and the emperor's secretary, from the secretaries and other household officers of the princes of Satzuma, Nagatz, Firakatta, Owari, Caga, &c.; the first of whom brought us a present of twelve beautiful birds, fifty rare plants, a pair of dwarf fowls, a pair of rabbits, a pair of fan-ducks, and some pieces of silk; all contained in such elegant cages and boxes, that their cost no doubt exceeded that of their contents."

Our notice of the amusements allowed the Dutch at Yedo must not be dismissed without adding Doeff's account of a shopkeeper who visited them in his time, whose wealth and liberality remind the reader of some of the merchants commemorated in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*.

"There is a silk-mercator here," says he, "named Itsigoya, who has shops in all the great towns throughout the empire. If you buy anything of him here and take it away to another town, say to Nagasaki, and no longer like it, you may return it, if undamaged, to his shop there, and receive back the whole sum paid for it at Yedo. He sent us five or six large chests out of which to choose. The wealth of this man is astonishing, as appears by what follows. During my stay at Yedo there occurred a tremendous fire, that laid everything, our residence included, in ashes, over an area of about three leagues by one and a half. Itsigoya lost on this occasion, besides his shop, a warehouse containing upward of a hundred thousand pounds' weight of spun silk, which fell altogether upon himself, the Japan-

ese knowing nothing of insurances. Notwithstanding this, he sent *forty* of his servants to our assistance during the fire, who were of great use to us. The second day after the conflagration he was already rebuilding his premises, paying every carpenter at the rate of about ten shillings (English) a day."

This fire is the accident previously alluded to as having endangered the presents, and afforded the Dutch an opportunity of seeing more than they usually do at Yedo. The following account is given of this calamity by Doeff:

"At ten o'clock in the morning of the 22d of April, 1806, we heard that a fire had broken out in the town, at the distance of about two leagues from our quarters. We took no heed of the news, so common are fires at Yedo; a fine night never passes without one; and as they are less frequent during rain, a lowering evening is a subject for mutual congratulation to the Yedoites. But the flames came nearer and nearer; and about three o'clock in the afternoon, a high wind driving the sparks towards our neighbourhood, four different houses around were seen in flames. Two hours before this occurred we had been sufficiently alarmed to begin packing; so that now, when the danger had become imminent, we were prepared to fly. On coming into the street we saw everything blazing about us. To run with the flames, before the wind, appeared very dangerous; so, taking an oblique direction, we ran through a street that was already burning, and thus reached an open field called *Hara*, beyond the conflagration. The place was set thick with the flags of princes, whose palaces were already consumed, and who had escaped hither with their wives and children. We followed their example, and appropriated a spot to ourselves by setting up a small Dutch flag used in crossing rivers. We had now a full view of the fire, and never did I see anything so terrible. The horrors of this sea of flame were

yet enhanced by the heart-rending cries and lamentations of fugitive women and children.

"Here we were for the moment safe, but had no home. The governor of Nagasaki, then resident at Yedo, Fita-Boengo-no-Cami, had been dismissed; and the house of his successor, appointed that very day, was already in ashes. We had quarters assigned us in the house of the other governor, then resident at Nagasaki, which stands quite at the other side of the town; thither we were led at half past ten in the evening, and were received, and all our wants supplied, in the most friendly manner by the son of the absent governor.

"About noon the next day a heavy rain extinguished the fire. We learned from our Nagasakkyā host, who paid us a visit, that the flames had caught his house within five minutes after our departure, and had consumed everything, neither goods nor furniture being saved. To afford him some relief our government charitably gave him, for three successive years, twenty *kanassars* of sugar, the *kanassar* being equal to 60 or 70 Amsterdam pounds. He likewise told us that thirty-seven palaces of princes had been destroyed, and that about twelve hundred persons (including a little daughter of the Prince of Awa) were either burned to death or drowned. This last misfortune was caused by the breaking down of the celebrated bridge *Nippon-bas*, under the weight of the flying multitude, while those in the rear, unconscious of the accident, and wild to escape the flames, drove those in front forward into the water.

"Politely as we were treated in the house of the governor of Nagasaki, we were less free there than at an inn, and I caused diligent search for a suitable residence to be made. At the end of four days we thanked the governor's son for his hospitality, and betook ourselves to our new abode. It was situated in a very agreeable, open place; immediately behind it ran the large river that divides Yedo, and being

the fourth house from a bridge across it, which many people are constantly crossing, we were very decided gainers in point of cheerfulness of prospect. From a sort of balcony attached to the back of our apartments, we commanded a view of this restless throng, which was much augmented by the numbers whom curiosity to see us drew thither, but who at that distance occasioned no inconvenience. The circumstance was nevertheless noticed; and the under interpreter brought a message from the governor of Yedo, forbidding us thenceforward to show ourselves on this balcony, on account of the curious crowds we attracted. Hereupon I requested to speak to the head police-officer who had accompanied us from Nagasaki. To him I expressed my astonishment at receiving such an order from the governor of Yedo, and not from the governor of Nagasaki, from whom alone, during the whole journey, the Hollanders had received directions and commands, and who, as he, the police-officer, had repeatedly informed me from the said governor, was intrusted exclusively with authority over us. I added, that I did not intend to obey any other person's orders, and earnestly entreated the *gobanyosi* to make known what had happened to the governor of Nagasaki. This appeal to his authority was not fruitless. The very next morning he sent me word by the same *gobanyosi* that he fully approved of my conduct, and gave me and my countrymen free leave to enjoy our balcony unmolested. He even increased that enjoyment, by ordering an adjoining courtyard to be cleared."

It does not appear, however, that the deputation acquired much new information by this glimpse of the living world of Yedo. We will now, therefore, proceed to the grand object of the journey—the audience of the *ziogoon*. This, it is to be observed, can take place only on the 28th of the month; a holyday appropriated, after the performance of the appointed religious rites, to paying compliments and

making visits. Should the 28th of one month by any chance be missed, the deputation would be obliged to wait for the next. We begin with the account given by Doeff, the only modern president who has gone through this ceremony more than once.

“A sort of full dress is ordered for the occasion. That of the *opperhoofd* is composed of velvet, those of the doctor and secretary of cloth, trimmed with gold or silver lace, or embroidered with gold or silver. All three wear cloaks, that of the *opperhoofd* being of velvet, the others of black satin; but these are not put on till they enter the interior of the palace. The *opperhoofd* alone enjoys the privilege of having his sword borne behind him in a black velvet bag, no other foreigner being suffered even to retain his sidearms in Japan.

“On the appointed day, the 28th of the third Japanese month (which then answered to the 3d of May), we repaired in state to the palace at six o'clock in the morning, that we might be there before the arrival of the state councillors. We were carried in our *norimonos* into the castle, and to the gate of the palace, where even princes are obliged to alight, except only the three princes of Owari, Kiusiu, and Mito, who, being princes of the blood, are brought as far as the gate opposite to the *guard of a hundred men*. To this guard we proceeded on foot, and there awaited the coming of the councillors of state. We were desired to sit on benches covered with red hangings, and were offered tea and the materials for smoking. Here we saw the governor of Nagasaki, and one of the chief spies, or general commissioners for strangers (an odd title, that seems to denote an office analogous to the French *Ministère de Police*), who, after congratulating us upon our prospect of immediate happiness in approaching the emperor, entered the palace. Then came the commandant of the guard to visit the *opperhoofd*; and here it is necessary to stand

rigidly upon one's rank. The commandant required that I should come from the inner room, which is held the most honourable, into the first or outer room, because his inferior rank did not authorize him to enter the inner room. I, on my side, asserted the impossibility of leaving the upper place assigned me. The commandant then advanced; but he paused at the distance of two mats (about twelve feet), and thence saluted me. By thus resolutely maintaining my place (which must always be done in Japan when one is in the right), I ensured the observance of old customs, the restoration of which, if through good-nature one ever gives way, is exceedingly difficult.

“When all the state councillors had arrived, we were invited to cross the other courts and enter the palace, where we were received by persons who, but for their shaven heads, might be compared to European pages. They conducted us to a waiting-room, where we sat down on the floor, in a reclining posture, and covered our feet with our cloaks; to show one's feet being considered in Japan an act of gross rudeness. After remaining here some time, the governor of Nagasaki and the commissioner for foreigners led me into the audience-hall, where I was desired to perfect myself in the part I had to act, as the governor would pay the penalty of any imperfection. I was then led back to the waiting-hall. Not long after I accompanied the governor to the real audience, from which we saw several grantees returning. I was led along a wooden corridor to the hall of a hundred mats, so named from its being carpeted with a hundred mats, each six feet by three. These are made of straw, are about two inches thick, and over them are laid others of finer texture, ornamentally bordered: such mats are used in Japan to cover every handsome sitting-room. There we left the chief interpreter, and, with the governor of Nagasaki, I was now ushered into the audience-hall,

where I saw the presents arranged on my left hand. Here we found the *ziogoon* or emperor, whose dress differed in no respect from that of his subjects. I paid my compliment in the precise form in which the princes of the realm pay theirs, while one of the state councillors announced me by the shout of *Capitan Horanda!* Hereupon the governor of Nagasaki, who stood a step or two behind me, pulled me by the cloak, in token that the audience was over. The whole ceremony does not occupy a minute."

As this account, though no doubt correct as far as it goes, does not give a very distinct idea of the audience-ceremonial of the Yedo court, we give the following description by Fischer, who, though he was not admitted to the actual ceremony, was, with the physician, present at its rehearsal, and may therefore be considered a competent witness.

"The whole ceremony," he says, "consists in making the Japanese compliment upon the appointed spot, and remaining for some seconds with the head touching the mats, while the words *Capitan Holanda* are proclaimed aloud. A stillness, as of death, prevails, broken only by the buzzing sound made by the Japanese to express profound veneration. The governor of Nagasaki and the chief interpreter are the only persons who accompany the *opperhoofd*; and when the audience is over, they give him the signal of retreat, which, like his entrance, is performed in a very stooping attitude, so that little more than the bare presence of a number of people is perceived, it being impossible, without violating the laws of Japanese courtesy, to look around for objects to gratify curiosity."

But if the audience be now over, not so the business of the day. The deputation, leaving the imperial palace, repairs to that of the *nisnomar* or crown prince, which is described as being finely situated upon an eminence, from whence may be formed some idea of the extent of the palace-grounds, and.

negatively, of that of the town, since in no direction can its limits be discerned. The crown prince is never found at home on these occasions, being probably in attendance upon his father; and the deputation is received in his name by state councillors appointed for the purpose, though no account has been given of the ceremony. Of the subsequent visits of compliment and of present-making to the officers of state, something more is related. The deputation waits upon the extraordinary and ordinary state councillors with certain gifts, but never find any of them at home. "We were everywhere," says Doeff, "politely received by a secretary, and entertained with tea and confectionery. This last was set before us on wooden trays, but was not touched; it was neatly folded up in paper, bound with gold or silver cords, and carried to our lodgings in lackered bowls by the under interpreter and our host. Behind the screens we heard the wives and children of the councillors, who were curiously watching us. That they did not show themselves in the room was not from any Turkish notion of secluding females, but because it might have led to too great familiarity with strangers."

Their being kept out of sight might be attributable, in part, to the policy which prohibits unnecessary intercourse between the Japanese and foreigners; but it is more probably owing to the great difference in rank which separates the wife of a minister of state from a trader. Pipes and tobacco are also, upon these occasions, everywhere presented to the Dutch.

"In some houses," says Fischer, "permission was asked to examine our watches, and the *opperhoofd's* hat and sword; while at every visit I was subjected to the irksome task of writing with red lead upon several sheets of paper, which, after the fatigues of the day, with the inconvenience of the posture, sitting on the ground, became exceedingly troublesome, and almost intolerable. It was half past nine in the evening before we returned home from these cere-

monies, and even then we had to receive a number of congratulatory visits, as though the object had been, by these protracted compliments, to put our health and strength to the test; for it became at last a feverish excitement, under which many persons might have fainted."

Since the year 1822, it appears that the Japanese government has taken some compassion on the Dutch, and given them an additional day to go through their visiting labours.

Siebold, who performed this journey four years later, says that only the five state councillors of the first class were visited by his party on the day of audience, and the eight of the second class on the following day; while the visits described by Fischer, in his attendance upon President Blomhoff, as having been paid on the second day, were then deferred to a third.

The last day devoted to this round of complimentary visits was even in 1822 less fatiguing than the first, and the strength of the visitors supported by more substantial hospitality. Four dignitaries only are named as having been waited upon, to wit, the two "temple lords," as the Dutch denominate the ministers to whom the department of religion is committed, and the two governors of Yedo, who respectively have charge of the eastern and western portions of the capital, and they entertain their guests, the Yedo governors only receiving them in person, with a hot meal and *sakee*. Doeff makes no mention of the governor of Nagasaki among the persons he visited; but Fischer says, "The governor of Nagasaki did not receive us, probably because he is very plainly lodged here, and, among such numbers of grandees, wished to conceal his mean estate from us. In fact, in the imperial palace we saw this man, who holds himself so high at Nagasaki, trotting about like a servant."

During the few days the Dutch remain at Yedo af-

ter the audience, the physicians and astronomers visit them openly ; but how many of their other acquaintance call upon them thus *omité-moeki*, as the Japanese style the opposite of their *nayboen*, is nowhere stated : it appears, however, that the visits of princes and of ladies are invariably of the latter kind.

It is seldom that more than three or four days are suffered to elapse after the compliment and tribute-paying audience before the Dutch deputation is summoned to an audience of dismissal. The ceremonial of this latter audience is said to be precisely the same as that of the first, except that it is far less honourable, inasmuch as the *ziogoon* does not accept in person the *kotoo* of the *opperhoofd*. The state councillors receive him in the hall of a hundred mats, where the governor of Nagasaki reads to him the same proclamation that he annually hears read at Nagasaki, as already mentioned.* After these orders have been communicated, the Dutch president withdraws for a short time, and on his return to the hall receives the *ziogoon's* present, consisting of thirty robes of state ; he again withdraws, and on coming back receives twenty more from the crown prince. He then goes home, where, in the afternoon, the secretaries of the state councillors, temple lords, governors of Yedo, and commissioners for strangers, bring him their masters' parting compliments, thanks for the presents received, and return presents, consisting likewise of silk robes, but inferior in quality to those given by the *ziogoon* and the heir-apparent, and wadded only with cotton. Each of the bearers of these gifts receives a present of sweetmeats, a paper of Dutch tobacco, and two gilt pipes.

This embraces the whole of the ceremonial now practised at the court of Yedo in the reception of foreigners, as given by writers of the present cen-

* See Ncte XI.

tury. It differs but little from the forms described by Kämpfer, as observed nearly 150 years ago ; but the modern accounts do not describe all that is related in the earlier narrative. A comparison of the two, therefore, including what appears to be now obsolete, and is omitted in the former, can scarcely be uninteresting. Kämpfer, though admitted to the imperial presence, was, like his successors, excluded from the tribute-presenting audience; and though his description of it agrees with Fischer's, still, as it is quaintly given, and is both more explicit and more graphic than the other, we shall not omit it.

"As soon," he says, "as the president entered the hall of audience, they cried out '*Holanda Capitan!*' which was the signal for him to draw near and make his obeisances. Accordingly, he crawled on his hands and knees to a place shown him, between the presents ranged in due order on one side, and the place where the emperor sat on the other; and there, kneeling, he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and so crawled backward like a crab, without uttering a single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have of this mighty monarch. Nor are there any other ceremonies observed in the audience he gives to the greatest and most powerful princes of the empire. For, having been called into the hall, their names are cried out aloud, then they move on their hands and feet humbly and silently towards the emperor's seat, and having showed their submission by bowing their forehead down to the ground, they creep back again in the same humble posture.

"In the second audience" (seemingly an extra audience, and immediately following the first), "the emperor, and the ladies invited to it, attend behind screens and lattices, but the councillors of state and other officers of the court sit in the open rooms in their usual elegant order. As soon as the captain had paid his homage, the emperor retired to

his apartment, and not long afterward we three Dutchmen were likewise called up and conducted through galleries, &c."

But we should fatigue the patience of our readers by farther details, and proceed to his account of the more private audience.

"After the usual obeisances made (bowing and creeping towards the lattice, behind which sat his majesty), Bengo" (the imperial favourite) "bade us welcome in the emperor's name: the chief interpreter received the compliment from Bengo's mouth, and repeated it to us. Upon this, the ambassador made his compliment in the name of his masters. * * * This the chief interpreter repeated in Japanese, having prostrated himself quite to the ground, and speaking loud enough to be heard by the emperor. The emperor's answer was again received by Bengo, who delivered it to the chief interpreter, and he to us. * * * The mutual compliments over, the succeeding part of the solemnity turned to a perfect farce. We were asked a thousand ridiculous and impertinent questions. Thus, for instance, they desired to know, in the first place, how old each of us was, and what was his name, which we were commanded to write on a bit of paper, having for such purposes taken a European inkhorn along with us. This paper, together with the inkhorn itself, we were commanded to give to Bengo, who delivered them both into the emperor's hands, reaching them over beneath the lattice. The captain or ambassador was asked concerning the distance of Holland from Batavia, and of Batavia from Nagasaki; which of the two was most powerful, the Director-general of the Dutch East India Company at Batavia, or the Prince of Holland. As for my own particular the following questions were put to me: What external and internal distempers I thought most dangerous and the most difficult to cure.* How I proceeded

* Kaempfer was the physician to the embassy

in the cure of cancerous humours and imposthumations of the inner parts. Whether our European physicians did not search after some medicine to render people immortal, as the Chinese physicians had done for many hundred years. Whether we had made any considerable progress in this search, and which was the remedy most conducive to long life that had been found out in Europe. * * * 'The name' (of a medicine he had mentioned) "was minuted down behind the lattices, for which purpose I was commanded to repeat it several times. * * * 'They asked whether I could make it up. Upon this, our resident whispered me to say 'No;' but I answered, 'Yes, I could make it up, but not here.' 'Then it was asked whether it could be had at Batavia. And having returned in answer that it was to be had there, the emperor desired that it should be sent over by the next ships. 'The emperor, who had hitherto sat among the ladies, almost opposite to us, at a considerable distance, did now draw near, and sat himself down on our right, behind the lattices, as near us as possibly he could. Then he ordered us to take off our *cappa* or cloak, being our garment of ceremony; then to stand upright, that he might have a full view of us; again, to walk, to stand still, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to speak broken Japanese, to read Dutch, to paint, to sing, to put our cloaks on and off. Meanwhile we obeyed the emperor's commands in the best manner we could; I joined to my dance a love-song in high German. In this manner, and with innumerable such other apish tricks, we must suffer ourselves to contribute to the emperor's and the court's diversion. The ambassador, however, is free from these and the like commands; for as he represents the authority of his masters, some care is taken that nothing should be done to injure or prejudice the same. * * * Having been thus exercised for a matter of two hours, though

with great apparent civility, some servants, shaved, came in, and put before each of us a small table with Japanese victuals, and a couple of ivory sticks instead of knives and forks. We took and ate some little things, and our old chief interpreter, though scarce able to walk, was commanded to carry away the remainder for himself. We were then ordered to put on our cloaks again and to take our leave."

This is certainly a curious scene in the annals of diplomacy; but the reader, when he considers how completely in the dark the Yedo government must have been in relation to the European states and their colonial dependencies, will probably not think the *ziogoon's* political questions so very impertinent. The medical interrogation has been shortened by omitting the physician's evasions, which were conquered, however, by imperial pertinacity.

Before quitting this subject it may be added, that such a mimic representation of European life appears to have been at that time a favourite amusement of the Yedo court. A similar exhibition, with less violation of grave diplomatic decorum, is described in the narrative given in Ogilby's *Montanus*, of the adventures of the crew of a Dutch ship, which, in distress for provisions, put into an interdicted Japanese port, when the captain was enticed on shore, made prisoner, and sent to Yedo, where he underwent long, severe, and repeated examinations before the government was satisfied that his object had not been to land Portuguese missionaries.

But, returning to the Japan of the present day, we must not take our leave of Yedo without adverting to a fancy entertained by most students of the Dutch language there, and, indeed, by other friends of the strangers, for receiving a Dutch name from their European visitors. This whim appears to have begun with an individual who, having persuaded an *opperhoofd* of the last century to new-name him, in honour of his being able to speak a few words of

broken Dutch, felt himself wonderfully exalted by the appellation of Adrian Pauw; and this was followed at Dezima by an under interpreter receiving the name of Abraham. The bearers of these two Dutch names became objects of envy to such of their countrymen as were ambitious of the acquaintance of the foreigners; and the consequence was, that Doeff received at Yedo divers petitions for names; among others, one from the learned astronomer Takahaso Sampei, who was appointed commissioner to inquire into the affair of the Russian captain Golownin, and another from one of the imperial physicians. The worthy president was unwilling to nickname such respectable personages; but, yielding at length to their importunity, dubbed the former Globius, the latter Botanicus, though the bestowment of these Latin designations can scarcely be considered as complying with the request for Dutch names. A son of the *ziogoon's* father-in-law, the Prince of Satsuma, and his secretary, were more honestly dealt with, the latter receiving the name of Pieter van der Stulp, and his master that of Frederik Hendrik, the name of one of the early stadtholders.

When *Opperhoofd* Blomhoff was at Yedo, a grand banquet was given him by his *gobanyosi* and his host. "It was," says Fischer, "extraordinarily splendid, and no expense was spared to display in the most striking manner Yedo luxury and etiquette. On this occasion, many who called themselves Dutch friends appeared in Dutch clothes, which, having been gradually collected from olden times, formed a most grotesque whole. By all this, as well as by many prompt services, they gave us the most indubitable marks of friendship and good-will."

Blomhoff and Fischer remained at Yedo in such friendly intercourse twelve days after the audience of leave, which appears to have been an unusual indulgence.

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN TO DEZIMA.

Taking leave at Yedo.—Miyako.—The *Mikado*.—His Dignity.—Honours paid him.—His Abdication or Death.—His Wives.—His Reception of, and Visit to the *Ziagoon* at Miyako.—Learning of the *Dairi*.—Ohosaka.—Amusements.—Theatre.—Plays.—Actors.—Strange intermingling of different Plays.—Arrival.—Dutch Distress during the interruption of intercourse with Java.—Japanese Endeavours to relieve it.

THE final signal of departure from Yedo is when the secretaries of the governors of Yedo and Nagasaki, in the names of their respective masters, make their leave-taking visits to the Dutch deputation. Still all intercourse does not yet cease with their Yedo friends. Amid the bustle of preparation for departure, their apartments are, during these few last hours, thronged with acquaintances, as is the street before the door with eager spectators, waiting, with a curiosity yet more intense than was experienced upon their arrival, for the last glimpse of the only strangers Yedo ever beholds. The commotion at this time within and without the house is represented as beyond the power of words to describe.

“We were obliged, upon coming into the street,” says Fischer, “at about four o’clock, to close our *norimonos* against the great concourse of people who, notwithstanding the harsh means employed by the guard escorting us to keep them off, jostled each other to get a sight of the Hollanders. We alighted near the palace of the Prince of Satzuma, in compliment to that respectable old man, who presented himself, with his whole family, at the windows. At about half past six we reached the Sinagawa suburb, where our Yedo friends were waiting for us, to spend

a last evening together and to say farewell. The next morning, setting forward on our journey, we met at Omoer, a few miles from Sinagawa, the two sons of the Prince of Nagatz, who had come thither to obtain a private interview with us, for which they had, perhaps, found no opportunity at Yedo. The eldest answered our compliment in a very friendly manner, repeating in Dutch, 'Seen for the first time;' which, in their own language, is the expression usually employed by the Japanese on their introduction to any one. This young prince had obtained the Dutch name of *Maurits*, and seemed, like his father, to think much of our nation and customs. They had with them a number of attendants who had often visited us at Yedo, and now took their leave of us."

The same road is taken in the journey back as in going to Yedo: the division of stages and the halting-places are likewise the same, with the single alteration that, where the travellers dined as they went, they sleep on their return, and where they before slept they now dine; they undergo, also, the same examination by the guards at Fakone and Aray. In the pleasure of the two journeys there is, however, a material difference, inasmuch as all traces of winter have now vanished, and they contemplate the fair landscape in its summer beauty, which grows more and more luxuriant as they proceed south towards Nagasaki. There is, indeed, at two points a remarkable change in their treatment; this is at Miyako and Ohosaka, where they now enjoy as much liberty as a foreigner can hope for in Japan.

At Miyako the Dutch deputation is received in person by the grand judge and the governors of the town, to whom they now offer the presents left in deposit for them as they went, receiving in return silk dresses and silver. They are not honoured with an audience of the *mikado*, nor do they send any presents to him, the *Son of Heaven* probably esteem

ing himself a personage too holy to be lawfully known to, or even thought of, by Christian foreigners; and they are, of course, never admitted within the precincts of his court, the *dairi*.

We shall here state such particulars in relation to this singular sovereign and his court as may be gathered from the different Dutch writers, concluding with the account given by Cramer, one of the early presidents, of a ceremonious procession seen by him, but which is now obsolete.

The *mikado* is by some writers called the *dairi*, which, being the name given to his court, can hardly be other than a mistake: it would seem, however, that the Japanese apply to him indifferently the title of *mikado* or *dairi sama*, the last meaning "lord of the *dairi*," and that the Europeans have merely dropped the word *sama* or "lord."

This nominally supreme sovereign claims to rule by right divine, not only as being descended in a direct line from the gods, but as being in a manner identified with them; the spirit of the goddess of the sun, the deity that governs the universe, both gods and men included, Ama-terasu-oo-kami, being presumed to be imbodied in every reigning *mikado*. The claim to despotic power thus advanced has been considered indisputable from time immemorial, as it is now; but some centuries ago a military chief possessed himself of the actual sovereignty, under the title of *ziogoon*, claiming to be the vicerent or deputy of the *mikado*, to whom he left nothing more than a mere nominal supremacy, together with his former state and dignity, and the semblance of a ministry; and the power thus acquired he rendered hereditary.

Indeed, it would seem that the *mikado's* dignity itself is now made the plea for depriving him of sovereign power. Worldly affairs are presumed to be so wholly undeserving the attention of the successor of the gods, that his bestowing a thought upon them would degrade him, if it were not even actual

profanation. Accordingly, no business is submitted to him, and no act of sovereignty performed by him except it be of a religious character. He deifies or canonizes great men after death; the *ziogoon*, however, pointing out those among the dead who are worthy of apotheosis. He appoints to the various offices in his court (a sort of spiritual hierarchy), which, from their nominal dignity and supposed sanctity, are objects of ambition not only to the princes of the empire, but to the *ziogoon's* ministers, and even to the *ziogoon* himself. He determines the days on which certain movable religious festivals are to be celebrated, the colours appropriate to evil spirits, and the like. One other sovereign act, if act it may be called, he daily performs, which would seem to show that, in virtue of his identification with the goddess of the sun, he is considered quite as much the patron divinity as the temporal lord of Japan. He every day passes a certain number of hours seated upon his throne, perfectly immovable, lest by turning his head he should bring ruin upon that portion of the empire towards which or from which he might happen to direct his looks, thus by his complete immobility maintaining the whole realm in a state of undisturbed happiness and tranquillity. After he has been seated the requisite number of hours, he resigns his place to his crown, which continues upon the throne, as his substitute, during the remainder of the day and the following night.

The honours paid to the *mikado* are no less extraordinary than the nature of his office and pretensions, all being indicative of, or having relation to, his supposed half-divine nature; if, indeed, this expression be strong enough to indicate a degree of divinity so exalted, that all the *kamis* or gods are held annually to wait upon him, and spend a month at his court. During that month, the name of which signifies "without gods," no one frequents the temples, believing

them to be temporarily deserted. To dignify and to guard from violation the high sanctity of the *mikado's* person is the grand object of all the honours paid to him. That his sacred foot may not be polluted by touching the ground in his movements from one place to another, he is always borne upon men's shoulders; that unhallowed eyes may not look upon him, he never quits the precincts of his palace. This total seclusion, however, within his palace appears to be a modern refinement upon the old system. According to most accounts, neither his hair, beard, nor nails are ever suffered to be cut, that his sacred person may not be mutilated; though the learned Orientalist, Klaproth, avers that the removal of whatever may be deemed essential to his comfort is allowed, and that cutting his nails and trimming his beard are performed while he is asleep, and called "stealing his nails and hair." It has been stated that the Japanese considered the sun unworthy to shine upon him; but this is denied by later writers, and seems, indeed, to be altogether inconsistent with the intimate union supposed to exist between the goddess of the sun and himself.

What is more certain and more consistent is, that everything about him must be at all times new. No article of dress is ever worn a second time; the plates and dishes in which his repasts are served up, the cups or bowls out of which he drinks, and even the culinary utensils in which his meals are prepared, must never have been used before. Neither is any one permitted to appropriate to himself his leavings. Whatever article has been hallowed by the *mikado's* use, be it ever so remotely, is held to be sacred, and no human touch is afterward suffered to profane it. To wear his cast clothes, to eat from his plates, to cook in his saucepans, or even to feed upon the broken viands from his table, would call down the vengeance of heaven upon the sacrilegious offender. To prevent all hazards of this kind, everything that has

been once in any way employed in the service of the *mikado* is immediately torn, broken, or otherwise destroyed; and his clothes, which are of a colour that no other person is allowed to wear, are, to the smallest article, all burned. The *mikado* is supported by the *ziogoon*; and the allowances from Yedo not being always as ample as might be wished, the expense of renewing daily, and in some things almost hourly, whatever pertains to the *Son of Heaven*, is alleviated by supplying his wardrobe, table, kitchen, &c., with articles of the very cheapest, and, therefore, coarsest description.

A *mikado* often abdicates in favour of a son or daughter, there having been many instances of the latter being preferred to the former, both while the sovereignty thus transferred was substantial and absolute, and since it has become a mere shadow. When a change of sovereignty thus takes place, it is promptly and explicitly made known to the whole empire; but if the emperor intends retaining his station to the close of life, the announcement is made accordingly. The death of the *mikado* is carefully concealed until the succession of his heir, male or female, is fully secured; and then the new *mikado* is proclaimed, with the additional information that his predecessor has *vanished*. Indeed, in what other terms could the decease of so divine a personage be mentioned?

To guard against the possible failure of an heir in the direct line of these successors and representatives of the gods, the *mikado* has twelve lawful wives, being the only individual in Japan who is indulged, if an indulgence it may be called, with polygamy. These twelve empresses the *mikado* usually selects from among the ladies of his court, and they are distinguished from other Japanese women by the form of their dress. Their robes are said to be so preposterously long and large, and the silk of which they are composed rendered so stiff and heavy

by inwrought gold and silver flowers, as nearly to incapacitate them from motion. Klaproth, taking no notice of the splendour of their dress, states that they, like the *mikado*, never put on a robe a second time; and adds that, when visiting the *mikado*, their hair hangs loose, though at other times it is properly dressed. The statements that have been made of the magnificence of the robes of the empresses are singularly inconsistent with what has been said of the coarseness of the *mikado's* own dress; and the truth undoubtedly is, that the internal economy of this secluded court is, of all other subjects, the one upon which foreigners are most likely to be led into error. It is likewise added, that the robes of the members of the *dairi* or court, male and female, are almost as inconveniently long and large as those of the *mikado's* consorts, and in this particular they are generally imitated by the priesthood.

In former times the *ziogoon* was bound periodically to wait upon the *mikado*, and pay in person his compliments of homage; and in the year 1626, Conraedt Cramer, envoy from the Dutch East India Company to the *ziogoon*, witnessed what he calls the reception of the sovereign vicegerent. His description of this ceremony, as given in English by Ogilby, may, notwithstanding the quaintness of the style, interest the curious reader.

“The Ambassador Cramer went in the evening with his whole retinue to a house near the imperial palace, where he had hired a place to stand in, by which the emperor and dayro were to pass the next day, where, while he stayed with his servants treating about the price, the people began to flock in such great multitudes, the crowd still more and more increasing to get places, that the ambassador, finding it impossible to get home to his lodgings, was necessitated to stay there all night. Early in the morning the streets swarmed with an incredible number of people, and between the em-

peror's and the *dayro's* court were all strewed with white sand, railed in on both sides, and all along guarded with soldiers of his imperial majesty's and the *dayro's*, clothed in white vestments, with head-pieces varnished with black wax, and armed with two cimeters and a pike. These guards went up and down, busied in clearing the way for the coaches" [the only writer, perhaps, who has mentioned coaches in Japan] "and horses through the people, which two days before came flocking from all corners of Japan in great numbers, getting on scaffolds, and staying all night under the canopy of Heaven to see the emperor pass by the next day, when all the windows and roofs were covered and thronged with spectators.

"By break of day the train began to march. The first that passed were several servants of the emperor's and *dayro's*, with many palanquinos or porters, who carried gifts that were to be presents in square waxed" (lackered) "chests, covered with the *dayro's* arms in gold; unto the emperor's court, a strong guard attending them. After these followed six sedans of white wood, about a fathom high, inlaid with plates of copper, and curiously painted, in which the ladies of honour belonging to the *dayro's* wives were carried, each by four men. These were followed by twenty-one sedans more, covered with black wood gilded, which were also carried by four on their shoulders: these ladies of honour being richly habited, sat in great state. After them came twenty-seven large sedans, which were carried by one hundred and eight men: their servants following were alike clothed in white liveries, and were of the same number. In these sedans, fair to the eye, having gilded doors and windows, were some of the nobles of the *dayro's* court; before every one of these went a tall, lusty young man, holding by a long pike an umbrella of white silk embroidered with gold.

"Next these came a cavalcade of twenty-four of

the nobility on horseback, wearing on their heads a small black waxed cap, with a black plume, and coats with wide sleeves; and their breeches, made of the best satin, were long and narrow" [this seems strange upon such an occasion, when the petticoat trousers might have been looked for], "of several colours, richly embroidered with gold and silver. By their sides hung gilded cimeters, bows and arrows girt to their waist with needleworked scarfs, whose tasseled fringes hung over on each side of the horse; their boots, drawn on straight, being black, were gilt with golden bars; bravely mounted on gallant horses, proud of their little heads, short ears, and gaunt yet well-trussed bodies, insomuch that the meanest there seemed to excel the most generous and bravest steed that ever Europe boasted or bred. Their saddles were all waxed or gilded; the seat embroidered with silver and gold, or else spread over with tiger skins; their manes, like ours, were curiously plaited with silk, silver, and gold ribands. Their caparisons, that covered their breasts and haunches, were a kind of network of crimson silk, full of tufts, and dangling with the motion of the wind; on their foreheads a golden horn, resembling our painted unicorns. Their shoes, to take away the noise of trampling, were of interwoven silk instead of iron. Each steed was led by two grooms; two great umbrellas, made of fine linen covered with red cloth, with a silk fringe round about it, being carried before, served to cover each horse, which was farther attended by eight pages or servants, all in white liveries, and armed according to their manner with two cutlasses; being thus attended, they rode on from the *dayro's* to the emperor's palace, without any disturbance, in good order.

"After these followed three rich coaches, each drawn by two black bulls, covered with red silken nets and led by four footmen in white liveries; these coaches were each four fathoms high, two long,

and one broad, being adorned with waxen figures, and enamelled with gold; on each side were three windows, and two before, which were hung with rich curtains; the entry behind opened like the gate of a prince's palace, steps ascending with turrets on each side, the windows beneath shaded with black wax, the rounds of the wheels gilded, the spokes neatly turned and inlaid with gold and mother-of-pearl, which, moving, cast beams like a looking-glass reflecting the sun, a novel and most glorious sight.

"These coaches, or rather towers, each of them carried in state the *dayro's* principal wives. The train of pages, all clothed in white, which attended these ladies was numerous, each of them carrying a gilded footstool and a pair of wax slippers. Besides their attendance of pages, a train of ladies followed them in twenty-three sedans, made of white wood and plated with copper, each having an umbrella, two pages, and four stout men to carry them.

"These being passed by, there appeared a second cavalcade, sixty-eight of the *dayro's* prime gentlemen, bravely mounted and completely armed, their horses seeming in beauty to outvie the former; these, marching by two and two, were attended by a great train of servants, slaves" [the only mention that has been made of slaves, and probably a mistake], pages, and a guard of pikes.

"Then followed the presents, being carried in great state by several lords of the country; the first were two gilded cimeters, the pummel, handle, hilts, and chafe all of massive gold; a curious fire-lock, much esteemed with them; a sundial, embellished with gold and pearl, there a great rarity; two stately golden candlesticks; two large pillars of ebony; three square polished tables of the same wood, the corners tipped with gold; three desks; two mighty chargers of massive gold, attended with a pair of wax slippers.

"The second cavalcade being passed, there fol-

lowed two more coaches of like bigness, but exceeding the former in riches, having the emperor's arms on the top, cast and flourished round, in a plate of massive gold. In the first sat Sadofienminamo Tonofindelanda, the emperor (*ziogoon*) himself; and in the other the heir-apparent or young emperor, Oeudefienminamo Tonoynemijtsamma. Fourscore lords marched two and two, on foot, before this pair of coaches, all gallant men, armed with cimeters and half pikes, which are the emperor's life-guard, which the Japanese call *sambreys*. But just before the emperor's coach marched eight men with ebony staves and steel batons, like our whiffers, clearing the way. Two beautiful horses, richly trapped, were also led before the coaches, about which marched a guard of eight archers, armed with pikes, bows, and arrows.

"Next in good order marched their imperial majesties' brothers, then all the princes and nobles of Japan followed on horseback, to the number of one hundred and sixty-four, clothed and armed like the former, but much richer, according to their several births and qualities. The ten brothers rode each by himself, with a numerous train of gentlemen, pages, &c. * * * Then the lords, the primest of them taking the left hand, which in this country is the upper and chiefest place. * * * They were attended by four hundred in white liveries.

"Then came six new fair coaches, though not half so big as the former, and only drawn by one ox, but proportionably beautiful. In these sat some of the *dayro's* inferior concubines, who were again followed by a cavalcade of sixty-eight gentlemen on horseback, attended with many servants and slaves.

"There was yet another coach in which the *dayro's* chief secretary rode, accompanied by thirty-seven gentlemen on horseback. Then followed the *norimonos* or sedans, in which were carried several of the *dayro's* grandees, whereof fifteen were of eb

ony inlaid with ivory; thirteen more shining with black wax and gold, and eighteen all glistening like mirrors, with a deep varnish of black wax; these were followed by forty-six great gilded caroches, which, with their attendants, followed the sedans. No sooner was this train passed by but there came fifty-four disguised like *mascurades*, being the *dayro's* musicians, playing on several instruments, as pipes, tabors, cymbals, bells, and some strung instruments unknown to us.

“After these merry boys followed the *dayro* himself, sitting in a great square edifice surrounded with drawing-doors or windows on each corner; on the top stood a gilded ball and a cock of massive gold thereon, with wings displayed. This moving house being nine foot high, was very beautifully adorned on all sides with carved imagery, each angle plated with pure gold; and the roof of it imitating the heavens, with sun, moon, and stars. Fifty of the emperor's nobles carried this ambulatory palace, supported on long poles. Forty gentlemen, accoutred like the ancient Greeks and Romans, armed with European headpieces, and pikes gilded at the ends, carrying in one hand a shield stuck full of arrows, had each of them an umbrella carried over them, and went before, being the *dayro's* bodyguard. These were again followed by thirteen great waxen chests, carried by the *pallaquin* porters. And, lastly, the whole procession was closed with four hundred persons all in white vestments, marching six in a rank in very good order.”

This description is certainly not as clear, and, it may be, not as correct as those given by later writers, but is somewhat interesting as being the only account of any ceremony in which the *mikado* figures. The writer goes on to relate the disorders and accidents that ensued, from the prodigious crowd which the procession had attracted. “Many were crowded and squeezed to death · others, falling, were sure

never to rise, being immediately trampled under foot; the horsemen making their way by force through the foot, which tumbled down one over another, so lying prostrate for the horses to tread over, the streets flowing with blood.

"The *dayro* and his wives," he continues, "lay there three days in the emperor's palace, where they were served by their majesties, their brothers, and the greatest princes of the court. Those which were placed by the emperor, as stewards to prepare the several dishes for the *dayro*, were the lord-chief-justice of the country and city of Shikayo, and four lords. Every meal consisted of one hundred and forty services. And for to attend the *dayro's* three principal wives were placed Onwandonie, head councillor of the old emperor, and four lords of the council."

The feasting ended by the young emperor's offering a magnificent present to the *Son of Heaven*. But to return to the *dairi*.

After what has been said of the absurd and ridiculous superstitions which prevail respecting the *mikado*, the reader will hardly be prepared to learn that in his *dairi* or court literature is more diligently and enthusiastically cultivated than anywhere else in Japan. More science there may possibly be in the college at Yedo, though the different scientific studies are extensively pursued by the members of the *mikado's* court. But, however this may be, it is certain that the poets, historians, and moralists most generally admired by their countrymen are found among the male and female members of the *dairi*, of whose lives literature would seem to be equally the business and pleasure.

To prevent the *mikado* from mingling any ambitious designs with these laudable pursuits is the business of the grand judge; and the watch he is required to keep over the movements of the *dairi* is the more easily maintained, in consequence of his

residence being opposite to the *dairi*-gate. His office is, however, by no means a pleasant one. The slightest negligenee would incur the *ziogoon's* anger, and any over officiousness might provoke the resentment of the *mikado*, of whom he is ostensibly only the humble representative. In either case he would have no other choice than to rip up his abdomen, after the established fashion of Japanese suicide.

The residence of the *mikado* does not occupy an extent of ground comparable with that embraced within the limits of the *ziogoon's* palace, nor does Miyako itself compete with Yedo in size. The whole population is estimated at six hundred thousand souls, exclusive of the *dairi*, the members of which probably consider themselves too dignified to be numbered with the mass of the people. But, though inferior to the *ziogoon's* capital in magnitude, we are assured that this city is the most beautiful in itself, and is surrounded by the finest scenery and most fruitful soil, and, withal, is the healthiest of any town in Japan. Miyako is, indeed, esteemed the paradise of the empire, one of its claims to this praise resting upon the superior beauty of its women. It is also a celebrated seat of learning independent of the *dairi*, containing, it is said, both high-schools and colleges.

The Dutch, upon their return, spend several days here, which are chiefly employed in making purchases, the best goods of every kind being sent to this city. Some of the most celebrated temples are shown to them; and in the gardens of one of these tents are erected, under which they are treated with a banquet. The multitudes who throng to this entertainment to gaze at the foreigners are spoken of by the Dutch as exceeding in numbers any collection of people ever seen by them in Japan, the entertainment being apparently given more to gratify the curiosity of the inhabitants than for the pleasure of the European guests. Both these objects, however, probably are had in view.

From Miyako boats convey the travellers, in a day and a night, down the river to Ohosaka, where they make a longer stay, and enjoy a greater variety of amusements. They are here permitted to view the town, which is said to be well worth examining. It is very large and populous, as may be inferred from the statement that there are upward of a hundred bridges across the river and the canals which lead from it, and that the citizens boast of being able to raise an army of eighty thousand men within its limits. Not only is it inhabited by the most considerable and wealthy merchants of the empire, as being the great mart of commerce whither the foreign goods brought by the Dutch and Chinese vessels are sent from Nagasaki, but it is also celebrated for its manufactures, various establishments for which were visited by the deputation, and are spoken of in favourable terms. Ohosaka is fortified in the Japanese style, and is farther protected by a castle at one side of the town.

The intended presents are now formally delivered to the governor at a regular audience, after which the deputation is feasted by him in a magnificent style. Other entertainments follow. The governor's racecourse is visited, but no mention is made of any races.

We must not omit giving some account of the dramatic representations at Ohosaka, which would appear to have been superior to any seen by the Dutch.

The theatre is described as being very large, containing, besides the pit, three tiers of seats, elegantly ornamented like the boxes of European theatres. The decorations and dresses are mentioned as being elegant, and in good taste; but this must be received with some qualification, as Fischer says that "it is occasionally difficult for the stranger to comprehend the scenery, on account of the extraordinary manner of placing the lines in the painting;" a per-

plexity resulting probably from the total absence in Japanese painting of perspective, upon which the effect of scenery wholly depends.

Unfortunately, we have no translation of any Japanese play, nor has any writer hitherto given such an analysis of one as might enable us to form an opinion in regard to the state of the dramatic art in Japan. A few general notions are all that can be gathered.

The plays of the Japanese appear to be mostly founded on traditions in their national history relating to their gods, and the exploits and loves of their ancient heroes ; a few upon fanciful love-stories ; and there are some which may not improperly be called didactic, from their being designed to illustrate and enforce some moral precept. The general tendency of many of these pieces are said to be excellent, though this encomium will perhaps be somewhat startling to minds better informed and more delicately organized than those of the Japanese. "They are often," says Fischer, "very instructive and useful. In their heroic dramas, the thirst for revenge shines pre-eminent as being a national characteristic, but always in union with a lofty courage. I saw a theatrical representation of one of their punishments by torture, which was barbarous in the extreme."

These tragic scenes, however horrible, are blended, it seems, with comedy ; and any such law as that of unity in regard to time and place appears to be unknown. A single play often dramatizes the birth, life, and death of its hero, while the scene suddenly changes, without the slightest observance of consistency, from island to island, across to the continent, and, perchance, from earth to heaven, should the adventures of a deity be introduced. In the representation of their plays, it is seldom that more than two persons appear upon the stage at once.

The actors appear to consider declamation as the

all-important thing in their art, and hence they often maintain for a quarter of an hour together the most unnaturally strained and passionate tone of voice. But what is esteemed the acmé of histrionic skill is one actor's being able to perform several different characters in the same piece. This change of parts is less difficult, from the small number of persons upon the stage at the same time; and it is not unlikely that it gave rise to a very singular practice peculiar to the Japanese theatre—the performers frequently, if not ordinarily, passing through the pit in their way to the stage; the reason assigned for which is, that the audience may be the more familiarly acquainted with the costume and appearance of each particular character. If this kind of knowledge be so much more difficult to be impressed upon a Japanese audience than upon any other, it is probably owing to the frequent breaking of the association of the actor with his part, which association is elsewhere maintained without interruption throughout the play.

There are no actresses in Japan, the female parts being represented by boys; and this may arise from the utter contempt in which actors, although extravagantly remunerated, are held, and which no woman would be suffered to incur. The contempt felt by the Japanese towards this particular class originates in the idea, that the man who will renounce his own character, and assume one foreign to his nature for the amusement of others, can have no sense of honour; and, as a natural consequence of being despised, the Japanese actors are said to be infamously immoral and licentious.

The most striking peculiarity in relation to the Japanese stage remains to be noticed, and this is the order of performance. Three different pieces are frequently represented on the same day; not the entire pieces successively, but interchangeably in parts; first the first act of one, then the same of a second, and after this of a third; then the second act of the

first play, and successively of the second and third; proceeding in this way till all the three are completed. Thus any of the audience who wish only to see one of these pieces, or who dislike the confinement of sitting out the whole (the three occupying a good part of the day, that is, from early in the afternoon to late in the evening), may withdraw while the pieces they do not care to see take their turn of representation, and come back refreshed to witness the next act of their favourite drama. The Japanese ladies, however, appear not to object to the length of time required for these representations, but rather to consider it as affording a most favourable opportunity for displaying the stores of their wardrobes. They are attended on these occasions by their female servants with an ample supply of dresses, and repeatedly change their attire in the course of the afternoon and evening.

The theatre is said to be a very favourite amusement of the Japanese, but it is also very costly; and in that country few persons even of the higher classes can afford to indulge in unnecessary expenses.

Before leaving Ohosaka the Dutch deputation receive the goods that were ordered on their way to Yedo. On the island of Nippon they likewise provide themselves, among other things, with a stock of charcoal, an article of the first necessity, and said to be very dear at Dezima, to which place all their purchases are despatched by water, along with the heavy baggage.

The last night of their journey the travellers sleep at Yagami, whither their Nagasaki friends, interpreters, and others repair to congratulate them upon the prosperous termination of their expedition. Here, too, their trunks and baggage are examined and sealed up; but the investigation is conducted with a forbearance that allows the prohibited wares they are well known to contain to pass undisturbed.

The next morning all their acquaintances meet

them between Yagami and Nagasaki. Upon the arrival of the bark with the goods and the remainder of the baggage, the president gives the *gobanyosi* who accompanied him an entertainment. A few days afterward he pays the governor of Nagasaki a visit ; and with that closes the ceremony of the periodical journey to Yedo.

Concluding thus what may be considered the personal narrative of the Dutch, we shall proceed to give some account of the manners, government, language, arts, &c., of the Japanese, merely inserting here a brief notice of certain occurrences which go to show the friendliness of the Japanese when not interfered with by their jealous and rigid system of government.

Heer Doeff, to whom we are much indebted in preparing this work, resided at Dezima from 1799 to 1817 ; consequently, through nearly the whole of the period during which the subjection of Holland to France, and her subsequent incorporation with the French empire, involved her in war with England. That war not only cost the Dutch most of their colonies, but interrupted their intercourse with such as they continued to retain, and also the intercourse of these latter with one another. There were, therefore, many years during which no ships from Batavia reached Dezima, and the factory was consequently destitute of various articles unknown in Japan, though almost necessities of life to Europeans. Nor was this privation of comforts the most serious inconvenience resulting from the partial or total cessation of intercourse. The Dutch found themselves occasionally wholly destitute of merchandise or money to pay their daily expenses. In this calamitous condition they were generously relieved by the native government, which ordered them to be supported in their temporary distress out of the treasury of Nagasaki ; and the governor sent regularly two or three times a week to inquire if they were

fully supplied, and whether they were in want of anything. But, though thus saved from all danger of perishing by cold or hunger, the Dutch missed not a little their accustomed butter and cheese, beer, wine, gin, &c., for which latter they found *sakee* but an indifferent substitute, this liquor being always drank warm, as is every Japanese beverage, water included. As to the edible luxuries they had formerly enjoyed, they were wholly unattainable, inasmuch as the Japanese consider themselves too deeply indebted to the horned race for their faithful services in agricultural and other labour to be guilty of so base and ungrateful an act as either to eat their flesh* or to rob their young of the mother's milk. The use of milk, therefore, in any form, is unknown, or, at least, strictly prohibited in Japan.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

Condition of Women.—Naming of Infants.—Treatment of Children.—Education.—Abdomen ripping.—Evil Eye.—Change of Name.—Marriage.—Courtship.—Marriage-brokers.—Presents.—Wedding.—Abdication of Heads of Families.—Forms of Politeness.—Correspondence.—Presents.—Visits.—Banquets.—Tea-drinking.—Amusements.—Music.—Dancing.—Games.—Forfeits.—Intoxication.—Rural and Water Parties.—Retailers of Gossip, teachers of Good Manners.—*Nayboen* or Concealed Death.—Ceremonies in the House of Death.—Obsequies.—Mourning.

WE are now to present our readers with such information relating to the social, political, and religious condition of the Japanese as may be gathered

* See No. XII.

from the different Dutch writers. From the seclusion to which the Dutch residents at Dezima are condemned, we cannot expect that it should be in their power to present us with a very complete picture, moral or physical, of the Japanese empire. They have, however, notwithstanding every disadvantage, seeing something and hearing more, collected a good deal of information, which, when methodized and arranged, may afford at least a general view of this extraordinary nation, whose really high state of civilization is so very dissimilar both to our own and to that of every other people with whom we are familiarly acquainted.

We shall begin with noticing the domestic and social life of the Japanese, as this is the first thing to arrest the attention of the stranger; and its very singularity cannot but awaken his curiosity to investigate the political and religious causes in which so much of it originates. But, to give a clear and connected view of this subject, some degree of order must be observed; and we cannot, perhaps, do better than to take the Japanese at his birth, and follow him, as we best can, through childhood, youth, and manhood, to his grave. So much of the difference between Asiatic and European civilization, however, appears to be intimately connected with, if not actually to result from, the different treatment and appreciation of woman in the two continents, that the condition of the female sex in Japan should be first considered, so far as we have means for ascertaining it.

The position of women in Japan is apparently unlike that of the sex in all other parts of the East, and approaches more nearly their European condition. The Japanese women are subjected to no jealous seclusion, hold a fair station in society, and share in all the innocent recreations of their fathers and husbands. Their fidelity and purity are thus committed to their own sense of honour, though death would

be the inevitable and immediate consequence of being detected in any flagrant violation of the confidence reposed in them. So well, however, is this confidence repaid, that an unfaithful wife, we are universally assured, is scarcely known in Japan. The minds of the women are cultivated with as much care as those of the men ; and among the most admired Japanese historians, moralists, and poets are found several female names. The Japanese ladies are described as being generally lively and agreeable companions, and the ease and elegance of their manners have been highly extolled.

But, though permitted thus to enjoy and adorn society, they are, on the other hand, during their whole lives, kept in a state of tutelage ; that is, of complete dependance upon their husbands, sons, or other relatives. They have no legal rights, and their evidence is not admitted in a court of justice. Not only may the husband introduce as many unwedded helpmates as he pleases into the mansion over which his wife presides (these women, though inferior to her in rank and domestic authority, as a mark of which they are not permitted to shave their eyebrows, not being deemed either criminal or dishonoured), but he has also a power of divorce, which may be considered unlimited, since he is restrained only by considerations of expediency. The Japanese husband, however, is obliged to support his repudiated wife according to his own station, unless he can allege grounds for the divorce satisfactory to the proper tribunal ; among which, the misfortune of being without children takes from the unhappy wife all claim to maintenance. Under no circumstances whatever can a wife demand to be separated from her husband. At home, the wife is mistress of the family ; but in other respects she is treated rather as a toy for her husband's amusement, than as the rational, confidential partner of his life. She is expected to please him by her accomplishments, and to cheer him with her

lively conversation, but never suffered to share his more serious thoughts, or to relieve by participation his anxieties and cares. She is, indeed, kept in profound ignorance of his business affairs; and so much as a question from her in relation to them would be resented as an act of unpardonable presumption.

We proceed now to describe, in the order and manner proposed, the social and domestic habits of the Japanese. In nothing do they discover their good sense more than in leaving their infant children free from swathing, and whatever else might impede their early development and growth. Upon one occasion only, that of naming the new member of the family, is this state of bodily freedom infringed upon. This ceremony takes place with boys on the thirty-first day, with girls on the thirtieth. At the appointed time, the infant is carried in state to the family temple, the servants following with its whole wardrobe, by the richness and abundance of which the father's dignity and wealth are estimated. Last in the procession walks a maid-servant, with a box in her hand, containing money to be presented to the officiating priestess, and a slip of paper on which three names are inscribed. These names* the priestess submits, with certain prescribed forms, to the god to whom the temple is dedicated, announces which of the three the divinity has selected, and confers it on the child, sprinkling it at the same time with water. Sacred songs, chanted to an instrumental accompaniment, conclude the ceremony. The infant is then carried to several other temples, and, lastly, to the house of the father's nearest kinsman, who presents it with a bundle of hemp, meaning, symbolically, that it should spin out for the child a long life, talismans, relics, and other valuables; to which he adds, if his newborn relation be a boy, two fans, intended as the representatives of swords, and implying courage;

* Siebold.

f a girl, a shell filled with paint, emblematical of beauty.

The child continues thus unconfined for three years, at the expiration of which its clothes are bound at the waist with a girdle. Religious rites accompany the first performance of this act, and the child is now taught to pray. At seven years old, if a boy, he receives the mantle of ceremony, and, what could hardly have been expected, from the great importance apparently attached to the previous naming, a new name. For this occasion, likewise, there is an appropriate religious ceremony; and, indeed, it may be said, that every epoch in Japanese life is consecrated by the rites of religion. After receiving the mantle of ceremony, boys are permitted to perform their devotions regularly at the temple.

Children are trained to habits of implicit obedience, which, independent of its beneficial effects on their future character, prevents, in a great measure, the necessity of punishment. Children of both sexes and of all ranks are sent to the inferior or primary schools, where they learn to read and write, and obtain some knowledge of the history of their own country. For the lower classes this is deemed a sufficient education, and thus much, it is positively asserted, every day-labourer in Japan acquires.* The children of the higher orders, however, proceed from these lower schools to others of a superior grade, where they are carefully instructed in morals, and in the whole art of good behaviour, including the minutest forms of etiquette to be observed towards every individual, according to his rank and station. They are also carefully instructed in arithmetic, and in the occult science of the almanac, since it would be no less disgraceful than disastrous to marry, begin a journey, or take any other impor-

* Meylan.

tant step upon an unlucky day. And, strange and horrible as it may appear, the boys are farther taught the whole mystery of what is called the *Hara-kiri*, signifying literally, we are told, the "happy despatch ;"* but which means, in reality, ripping open the abdomen, a mode of self-destruction which the Japanese gentleman often considers himself bound to resort to. They are instructed as to the proper mode of performing this act, the ceremonies that should accompany it, varying with the occasion, and according as it is done publicly or privately, and under what circumstances a well-bred man should feel himself obliged thus to destroy himself.

In these more advanced schools the girls perfect themselves in the various kinds of plain and ornamental needlework, are made acquainted with the management of household affairs, and acquire generally such knowledge as may be useful to them as mothers and the mistresses of families.

The Japanese children are very meanly clad ; and, when accompanying their mothers through the streets, their shabby appearance contrasts most strikingly with the parent's splendid attire. This, it is said, is to preserve them from the blighting effects of the admiration which, if well-dressed, their beauty might excite ; and it is not a little curious that we should thus find the same strange superstition of the *evil eye* in the most remote and dissimilar countries, where intercommunication would seem to have been impossible.

At fifteen their education is completed. The boy is now considered a man, and takes his place in society accordingly ; his head is shaved in the fashion of his country, and upon this occasion he again receives a new name. Nor is even this third name, any more than those previously given, destined to

* Ogilby.

be permanent. Upon every advance in official rank (and half the population, exclusive of the working classes, appears to hold office of some kind) the Japanese uniformly takes a new name. Nor is it only upon these occasions that he is required to make such a change : no subaltern is allowed to bear the same name with his chief ; so that, whenever an individual is appointed to a high station, every person under him who chances to be his namesake must immediately assume another cognomen. This custom of changing the name with the post extends even to the throne, and occasions great perplexity to the student of Japanese history, who finds it not a little difficult to trace, for instance, the progress of a usurper through all his successive appellations.

Marriage* is contracted early ; but as a matrimonial connexion with one of inferior rank is held to be utterly disgraceful, persons not in the highest classes of society are frequently under the necessity of espousing, like princes, those whom they have never seen. Thus the treasurer of Nagasaki, though his rank is not so elevated as to require the detention of his family at Yedo, has no precise equal in the place ; consequently, his children cannot ally themselves with other young people of the town, their acquaintance and associates, but he must procure them wives and husbands out of the families of men of his own class in some distant city or province.

When no such obstacle prevents "the course of true love" from running "smooth," and a youth has fixed his affections upon a maiden of suitable condition, he declares his passion by attaching a branch of a certain shrub (the *Celastrus alatus*) to the house of the damsel's parents. If this emblem of his passion be neglected, it implies that his suit is rejected ; if accepted, so is the lover ; and should the young

lady wish to express reciprocal tenderness, she fortifies with blackens her teeth, though she must not pluck out her eyebrows until after the wedding.

After the alliance has been agreed upon, a certain number of male friends of the bridegroom and as many female friends of the bride are appointed to discuss and arrange the terms of the marriage-contract; and when they have settled these they carefully select two auspicious days, the first for an interview between the affianced pair, the second for the wedding.

At this stage of the proceedings the bridegroom sends presents, as costly as his means will allow, to the bride, which she immediately offers to her parents, in acknowledgment of their kindness during her infancy, and of the pains they have bestowed upon her education. Thus, although a Japanese lady is not subjected to the usual Oriental degradation of being actually purchased of her father by her intended husband, still a handsome daughter is considered rather an addition to the fortune of the family. The bride is not, however, transferred quite empty-handed to her future home. Besides sending a few trifles to the bridegroom in return for his more costly gifts, her parents, after ceremoniously burning her childish toys, in token of the change about to take place in her condition, present her a handsome marriage-dress, and various articles of household furniture; though but few such articles would seem to be required in a country where the finely-matted floor is made to answer all the purposes of chairs, tables, sofas, and bedsteads. Among those given on such occasions are always a spinning-wheel, a loom, and the culinary implements required in a Japanese kitchen. The whole of this bridal equipment is conveyed in great state to the bridegroom's house on the wedding-day, and there exhibited.

In regard to the marriage-rites, some little difficulty is created by Titsingh's intimation that no re-

religious solemnization takes place ; but we may easily conceive that, in such a country as Japan, a foreigner, though even at the head of the factory, might have been invited only to the ceremonies with which the bride is installed into her new home, without ever witnessing the previous religious celebration. Meylan, on the other hand, distinctly states that marriage, although considered a mere civil contract, is always consecrated by a priest. Fischer adds, that it must be registered in the temple to which the young couple belong ; and the Swedish traveller Thunberg, as also old Montanus, have given a description of the religious solemnity. This appears to consist in the prayers and benedictions of the priests, accompanied by a kindling of bridal torches, the bride's from the altar, and the bridegroom's from hers, after which they are solemnly pronounced man and wife.

The business of the day, however, does not terminate here. The bride is attired in white, to typify her purity, and covered from head to foot with a white veil. This veil is her destined shroud, which she assumes at the moment of exchanging a paternal for a conjugal home, in token that she considers herself thenceforward dead to her own family, and as belonging wholly to the husband to whom she is about to be delivered up. In this garb she is seated in a palanquin of the better sort, and carried forth, escorted by the marriage-brokers, her family, and the friends who have been bidden to the wedding feast ; the men all in their dress of ceremony, the women in their gayest gold-bordered robes. The procession passes through the greater part of the town, and presents an exceedingly pretty spectacle.

Upon reaching the bridegroom's house, the bride, still in her long white veil, is accompanied by two of her girlish playmates into the state-room, where, in the post of honour, sits the bridegroom, surrounded by his parents and nearest relations. In the cen-

tie of the apartment stands a beautifully-wrought table, and upon it miniature representations of a fir-tree, a plum-tree in blossom, a crane, and a tortoise, the emblems respectively of man's strength, of woman's beauty, and of a long and happy life. Upon another table stands the apparatus for drinking, by the side of which the bride takes her stand. And now begins the pouring out, presenting, and drinking of *sakee*, with formalities so numerous and minute as hardly to be conceived, in which the bridesmaids, as they may be called, fancifully assuming the name of butterflies,* act a conspicuous part. The drinking over, the proper marriage ceremonial is considered completed. The wedding guests now appear, and the evening is spent in feasting and in drinking *sakee*.† The fare on these occasions, however, is said to be very simple,‡ in honour of the frugality of the early Japanese, which many of the customs still observed are designed to commemorate. Three days afterward the bride and bridegroom pay their respects to the family of the former, and with this ends the entire ceremony.

The house into which the young wife is thus inducted belongs either to her husband or her husband's father, depending on whether the latter may have been induced, by the vexations, burdens, and restraints attached to the condition of head of a family, to resign that dignity to his son. These annoyances, increasing with the rank of the parties, are said to be so great, that almost every father in Japan (at least of the higher orders) looks impatiently for the day when he shall have a son of sufficient age to take his place, himself, with his wife and younger children, becoming thenceforward dependants upon such son. And, though the practice is so common, we are assured that there is no example of its ever having been abused by ingratitude on the part of the

* Titsingh.

+ Siebold.

‡ Fischer.

child thus put in possession of the paternal estate and power.

The life of Japanese, however, of the higher orders, much as they may be otherwise harassed, is little disturbed by business; even government offices, from the great number of occupants, giving but little to do: their time, therefore, is for the most part divided between the observances of ceremonious politeness and amusement. Among the former are epistolary correspondence and the making of presents, both of which are continually going on, the latter being regulated by laws no less unchangeable than those which govern everything else in Japan. For certain occasions, the nature of the gifts to be interchanged is immutably fixed; upon others, this is left to the choice of the donor, with the exception that a superior must always bestow objects of utility upon an inferior, while the latter is expected to present articles that are rare and elegant to the former. Between equals, the value of the gift is immaterial; a quire of paper or a dozen of eggs is a very sufficient present, provided it be placed in a beautiful box, tied with silk cord, offered upon a handsome tray, with a knot of coloured paper, emblematic of good luck. We should add, however, that all presents, whatever may be their value, must be accompanied with a slice of dried fish of the coarsest kind. This coarse fish is, moreover, an indispensable dish even at the most sumptuous banquets; and, though no one is expected to eat it, it is thus upon all occasions brought forward, in commemoration of the frugality of the early Japanese, whose chief food it formed.

Social intercourse among the Japanese seems to be entirely governed by ceremony.* Two gentlemen meeting in the street bow low to each other, remain for some moments in this attitude, and on parting make a similar bow, from which they must

* Fischer.

not straighten themselves so long as, by looking back, they can see each other. In a morning call, the visiter and the visited first sit down on their heels facing each other; then, placing their hands on the ground, they simultaneously bow their heads as close as possible to their knees. Next follow certain compliments, answered on either side by a muttered "*He, he, he!*" then pipes and tea are brought in, and it is not till all this has been duly performed that anything in the nature of conversation may be attempted. In their intercourse with each other the Japanese are careful not to annoy their friends with complaints of their private troubles and vexations; and, even under heavy afflictions, assume in company a cheerful countenance. The ceremony of a morning call concludes by serving up, on a sheet of white paper, confectionery or other dainties, to be eaten with chopsticks. What he does not eat the visiter carefully folds up in paper and deposits in his pocket-sleeve. This practice of carrying away what is not eaten is so invariable a rule of Japanese good-breeding, that at grand dinners the guests are expected to bring servants, with baskets, to receive the remnants of the feast.

At such entertainments, each guest is served with a portion of every dish in a small bowl. Another bowl is placed by the side of it, and kept constantly replenished with rice, while the sauces and other condiments, as soy, salted ginger, salted fish, &c., are handed round by the servants of both sexes in attendance. The viands consist of every kind of vegetable, seaweed not excepted; of game of various kinds, poultry, and fish. The latter is a standing dish at every Japanese table, answering to the English joint of meat. Every species of fish is eaten, down to the very coarsest; the lower orders feasting upon all parts of the whale, even upon the scraps remaining after the oil has been extracted.

At a Japanese banquet the dishes are tricked out

with gold leaf, and upon very grand occasions the bills, legs, and claws of the birds served up are gilt. The dinner usually consists of seven or eight courses, and while they are changing the master of the house walks round, drinking *sakee* with his guests. But the chief object in giving these entertainments is said to be less the assembling of a cheerful party than to exhibit the abundance, variety, and richness of the china and lackered-ware possessed by the master of the feast, to whom and to his wife no compliment is so agreeable as admiration of the table-service, accompanied by inquiries concerning the cost of the different articles.

Tea made in the ordinary way, that is, boiled in the teakettle, is drunk at all their meals, and, indeed, at all times in the day, by every class. But there is another mode of preparing this beverage, which, on account of its great expense, arising partly from the number of different utensils employed in its concoction, all of which Japanese etiquette requires to be highly ornamented and very costly, is wholly confined to the upper ranks, and by them, even, is given only upon grand occasions. The costliness of this beverage, however, is principally owing to the splendour of the lackered bowls, the richness of the silken napkins, &c., with which it is served. The finest kind of tea is ground to powder, a teaspoonful of which is put into a bowl, boiling water poured upon it, and the whole whipped with split bamboo till it creams. Thus made, it is said to be a very agreeable, but very heating beverage.

When a party is invited to partake of tea thus prepared, the room in which the guests are received must be adorned with a picture of the philosopher and bonze Darma, its reputed inventor and patron *kami* or saint. To adapt the decorations of the reception-room to the different occasions for which it is used, is studied with the utmost care by the Japanese. In a handsome drawing-room there must be a

toko or kind of recess, with shelves made of the finest and most expensive woods. In this recess there must be exhibited a single picture—no more, beneath which must stand a vase with flowers. Not only must this picture be suited to the particular occasion, and therefore constantly changed, but a similar congruity in the flowers is indispensable; the kinds, the manner in which they are intermixed, the number, and even the proportion between the green leaves and the gay blossoms, must all be regulated according to the character of the entertainment. The laws governing these variations are formed into a system; and a book, treating of this complicated affair, is one of those studied by young ladies at school.

The Japanese are very sociable, notwithstanding their punctilious observance of ceremony; and in their apartments, variously decorated according to the particular nature of the entertainment, they delight to meet together, the ladies occupying themselves with ornamental work, with music, and with dancing. Different kinds of games are also played.

The Japanese are passionately fond of music; and their traditions assign to it a divine origin. According to this account, the goddess of the sun, upon a certain time, in resentment at the violence of an ill-disposed brother, retired into a cave, leaving the universe in utter confusion and darkness, and music was invented by the gods to lure her forth from her retreat. But, though the existence of daylight is indubitable evidence that the device succeeded, Japanese music seems but poorly to correspond with the high purpose of its birth. It has, indeed, produced a variety of instruments—stringed, wind, and of the cymbal kind—among which the *syamsie*, already mentioned, is the greatest favourite. But with all these (no less than twenty-one in number) the Japanese have no idea of harmony; and when several instruments are played together, it is always

in unison. Nor are they, it would seem, much greater proficient in melody, their airs being distinguished neither by "wood notes wild" nor by the smallest pretensions to science. Yet to this music they will listen with delight for hours; and the girl must be lowborn and lowbred indeed* who cannot accompany her own singing upon the *syamsie*. And this music is often *extempore*, as there is scarcely ever a party of young ladies together in which there is not some one of them capable of *improvising* a song.

Their dancing is in the Oriental style, in which the arms and body are much more concerned than the feet, which remain nearly immovable, and are concealed, as usual, beneath the dress. It is of a pantomimic character, and generally designed to represent some passion or some scene of every-day life. These private dances are performed wholly by the ladies, while the men look on in rapturous admiration; though the utmost praise their Dutch visitors seem able to bestow upon the exhibition is, that it is perfectly free from the licentious movements of the professional dancing-girls of the East.

Cards and dice are strictly prohibited; and although the law is said to be secretly transgressed in the gambling-houses, at home the Japanese respect it, and resort to other games. Chess and draughts are great favourites, as is also another game resembling the Italian *moro*.† They have a game which seems entirely original. A puppet is floated in a vessel of water, round which the company stand, playing the *syamsie* and singing as the puppet moves. As it turns, penalties of *sakee*-drinking are imposed, as when wrong guesses are made in the Japanese *moro*. Upon these occasions the trammels of ceremony are completely broken, and the most extravagant merriment prevails, often ending in results very contrary to European notions of the temper-

* Meylan.

† Fischer.

ance of tropical and Oriental climates. *Sakee* is drunk to intoxication by the men, who then sober themselves with tea, again become inebriate, and, after several repetitions of the two processes, are at length carried away insensible.

In summer their meetings for social hilarity take the form of rural, or, more frequently, water parties, formed for the enjoyment of fine scenery. Large companies will thus spend the afternoon, evening, and part of the night upon the lakes and rivers, or on the numerous bays of the sea, in their highly-ornamented boats, with music and feasting. During the heat of the day they lie moored in some shady nook, protected from the sun's rays, but open to the breeze, whence they can command a pleasing view. In the evening the waters are alive with music, and illuminated with the moving light of the numberless coloured paper lanterns in the boats.

To divert the company when they get tired of conversation, and such music as they can make among themselves, professional musicians, jugglers, posture-makers, and the like are engaged for the day. To these are added story-tellers, differing entirely in character from those ordinarily found in the East. These persons make it their business to learn, not romances, but all the gossip of a neighbourhood, which they retail for the entertainment of their employers. These traders in scandal, strange to say, are frequently hired to relieve the tedium of a sick-room; and when engaged for the diversion of a party of pleasure, they have a secondary duty to perform, which is, to set an example of politeness, and to maintain a courteous deportment among those who employ them. These different and not very consistent functions they are said to harmonize in a very remarkable manner. Thus, though in their capacity of amusers they indulge in extravagant buffoonery, and even rudeness and impudence, they remain all the while perfectly self-possessed, and at the prop-

er moment, resuming their polished demeanour, recall the company to order and good-breeding.

From the formalities and pleasures which mainly occupy the *life* of the Japanese, we now turn to his *closing scene*. Many of the Japanese of the higher orders die *nayboen*, whether in the course of nature or by their own hands. If a man holding office dies, his death is concealed (that is, it is *nayboen*), and the affairs of the family proceed apparently as usual, till the reversion of his place has been obtained for his son. If such a person be deeply in debt, also, the same course is adopted for the benefit of his creditors, who receive his salary, while he, though well known to be dead, is reputed to be alive. Again, if he has incurred any serious disfavour, or has committed some grievous offence, conviction of which would be followed by disgraceful punishment, confiscation, and corruption of blood, he does not hesitate to destroy himself in the usual manner of the country, in the midst of his family, if they can derive any good from his death remaining for a time concealed; or publicly, in a solemn assembly of his friends, if his object be solely the satisfaction of justice and the prevention of legal infliction. Suicide by *hara-kiri* is, upon certain occasions, committed in some temple, after a splendid entertainment given to relatives and friends, and in which the officiating priests of the temple participate.

When the necessity for the *nayboen* ceases, or a Japanese dies openly, either in the course of nature or by his own hands, the first indication of mourning appears in turning all the screens and sliding doors in the house topsy-turvy, and all garments inside out.* A priest then takes his place by the side of the corpse. The family is supposed to be too much absorbed in grief to admit of their attending to what is necessary to be done upon the melancholy occa-

* Meylan.

sion ; they are therefore permitted to indulge their sorrow undisturbed, while their most intimate friends supply their place in all matters either of business or ceremony. One of these directs the laying out of the corpse ; another orders the funeral ; a third stations himself at the door, in his dress of ceremony, to receive the formal visits of condolence paid by the friends and acquaintance of the deceased, who do not cross the threshold, however, lest they should be polluted by entering the house of death ; the digging of the grave is superintended by a fourth. This is situated in the grounds of some temple, is shaped like a well, and well lined with cement to prevent the infiltration of water. If the deceased was married, the grave is usually made sufficiently large to contain, in addition to his own body, that of his wife. A suitable monument is prepared, bearing the name of the deceased ; and if married, that of his surviving partner is added in red letters, to be blackened, or in some cases gilt, when she shall rejoin him in his narrow house.

When the preparations are all completed, the corpse, washed, and clad in a white shroud, on which the priest has previously inscribed certain sacred characters as a sort of passport to heaven, is placed, in the sitting posture of the country, in a tub-shaped coffin, enclosed in an earthenware vessel of corresponding figure, and the funeral procession begins. This is headed by a number of torch-bearers, who are followed by a large company of priests, with their sacred books, incense, &c. Then comes a crowd of servants, carrying bamboo poles, to which are attached lanterns, umbrellas, and strips of white paper inscribed with sacred sentences. These immediately precede the coffin, which is borne upon a bier, and covered with a sort of white paper chest, having a dome-fashioned roof, over which a garland is suspended from a bamboo carried by a servant. Immediately behind the body walk the friends and

acquaintance of the deceased, in their dress of ceremony, accompanying the male members of the family, attired in mourning garments of pure white. White mourning is also worn by the bearers and by the household servants of the deceased. The procession is closed by the females of the family and their friends, each in her own palanquin, attended by her female servants. The palanquins of the relatives of the family are distinguished from those of friends by the white mourning dresses of the attendants. Where the deceased person is of lower rank, the female relatives and their friends walk after the men.

The mournful train is met at the temple by another party of priests, who perform the funeral service, and the interment of the corpse is accompanied by a peculiar kind of solemn music, produced by striking on copper basins. During this ceremony two persons are seated in a side-chamber of the temple, with writing materials, to note down the names of all the friends and acquaintance who have attended upon the occasion.

In former times funeral obsequies were in many respects far more onerous than at present, for even in Japan lapse of years has in some degree wrought its ordinary meliorating effects. In the early days alluded to the dead man's house was consumed, except so much of it as was used in constructing his monument.* Now it is merely purified by kindling before it a great fire, in which odoriferous oils and spices are burned. At that period, too, servants were buried with their masters, originally alive; afterward, as somewhat gentler manners arose, they were permitted first to kill themselves; but in both cases it was expressly stipulated when they were hired that they should be thus interred. At present, effigies are happily substituted in place of the living men.

* Siebold.

The mourning is said by some of the Dutch writers to last no more than forty-nine days ; but this must mean the general mourning, including distant connexions and friends, as Dr. Von Siebold expressly states that the nearest relatives of a deceased person remain impure (which, in Japan, implies the same thing as being in mourning) at least thirteen months. There are, however, two distinct periods of mourning, as with us ; the first of a deeper, the later of a lighter kind, and this may help to explain the discrepancy. During the specified forty-nine days, all the kindred of the deceased repair daily to his tomb, to pray there, and offer a particular kind of cakes, as many in number as days have elapsed since the funeral. On the fiftieth day the men shave their heads and beards, which had remained unshorn and untrimmed during the previous seven weeks. All farther signs of mourning are with this laid aside, and men and women now resume the ordinary business of life, their first duty being to pay visits of thanks to all who were present at the funeral. It should be added, however, that for the space of half a century the children and grandchildren of the deceased continue to make offerings at the tomb.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL STATE OF JAPAN.

Government.—Peculiar Character of Japanese Despotism.—Feudal Tenures.—*Mikado*.—*Ziogoon*.—Council of State.—Its Constitution and Power.—Governor of the Empire.—Consequence of a Difference of Opinion between the *Ziogoon* and the Council.—Vassal Princes.—Ministers forced upon them.—Annoyances to which they are subjected.—Modes of Impoverishment.—Lordships.—Imperial Governments.—Official Establishment at Nagasaki.—Municipal Authorities.—System of *Espionage*.—Its Effects.—Classification of the Japanese.—Princes.—Nobles.—Priests.—Military Tenants.—Inferior Officials and Medical Profession.—Superior Traders.—Inferior Traders, Artisans, and Artists.—Peasantry.—Degradation of Dealers in Leather.—Administration of Justice.—Executions.—Torture.—Prisons.

THE government of Japan is generally supposed to be, like that of most Oriental states, despotic ; and so in fact it is, though the commonly-received idea of despotism requires to be a little modified to render it perfectly applicable to the sovereign power in Japan. We must abstract from that idea one of its greatest evils, and one which is habitually conceived, whether justly or not, to be inseparable from despotic authority, namely, arbitrariness. Liberty is, indeed, unknown in Japan ; it exists not even in the ordinary intercourse of man with man ; and the very idea of freedom, as distinguished from rude license, could perhaps hardly be made intelligible to a native of that extraordinary empire. But, on the other hand, no individual in the whole nation, be he ever so high, is above the law ; both the sovereigns, the supreme *mikado*, and his ruling vicègerent, the *ziogoon*, appearing to be as completely enthralled as the meanest of their subjects, if not more so. If,

then, it be asked how despotism can exist unless wielded by a despotic sovereign, the answer is, that in Japan, law and established custom, unvarying, known to all, and pressing upon all alike, are the real despots. Scarcely an action of life is exempt from their rigid, inflexible control ; but he who scrupulously complies with their requirements has no arbitrary power, no capricious tyranny to apprehend. Early writers, indeed, speak of the *ziogoon's* power as being arbitrary as well as absolute, and it is possible that its present milder form may have grown out of the gradual degeneracy of the reigning dynasty ; but it must also be recollected that those early writers spoke of usurpers, and that the energy which had seized upon the throne was little likely to submit to the control of law and custom.

Japan is a feudal empire in the strictest sense of the term. The *mikado*, as being the successor and representative of the gods, is the nominal proprietor, as well as sovereign, of the realm ; and the *ziogoon* is his deputy or vicegerent. His dominions, with the exception of the portion reserved to the crown, are divided into principalities, held in vassalage by their respective hereditary princes. Under these the land is parcelled out among the nobility, who hold their hereditary estates by military service.

The utter impotence of the *mikado* for good or evil has been sufficiently noticed in a former chapter, as also the perpetual thralldom imposed upon him by the very dignity of his station. It is probably the ever-recurring annoyances which he experiences that induce the *mikado* frequently to abdicate in favour of a son or daughter ; and, if by this step he gains very little that can be called freedom, he at least escapes from his task of diurnal immobility, and is no longer, it may be presumed, restrained from all locomotion.

The next personage to be noticed, in speaking of the political condition of Japan, is the *mikado's* vice

gerent, the *ziogoon* or *koebo*, these names being indifferently given him, without any distinct explanation of their different meanings. Klaproth, however, considers *ziogoon* the more appropriate title; an opinion which is corroborated by the declaration of some of the older writers, that *koebo* is used to designate a *ziogoon* who has abdicated. This dignitary, who is supposed to be absolute by many writers, we shall find, upon careful examination, to be nearly as destitute of real power, as much secluded from the public eye, and as much enmeshed in the inextricable web of law and custom, as his nominal master.

The *ziogoon** scarcely ever passes beyond the limits of his spacious palace enclosure; even his religious pilgrimages, and his journeys to Miyako to do homage, or, in Japanese phrase, to make his compliments, to the *mikado*, being now performed by deputy. The business of government is represented as being wholly unworthy of engaging his thoughts; and his time is said to be so skilfully occupied as scarcely to leave him leisure, had he the wish, to attend to the affairs of the empire. The official duties of ceremony imposed upon him, the observances of etiquette, the receiving of homage or compliment, and of presents, from those permitted or bound to offer them, upon the frequently-recurring festival days and the like, are represented as being of themselves sufficient fully to occupy the time of three individuals. These important ceremonies are regulated and conducted by a host of courtiers, holding what we should call household offices, and who are always about the person of the *ziogoon*. But, lest any notion of his degradation, any suspicion of his being, like the *mikado*, merely the shadow of a sovereign, should disturb the imperial breast, or be planted there by some ambitious favourite, both the *ziogoon* and his court are constantly surrounded and watched by the innu

* Fischer.

merable spies of the council of state, which constitutes the real executive power.

The number of members composing this council is differently given by different writers; but the best authority makes them thirteen: to wit, five* councillors of the first class, uniformly selected from among the princes of the empire, and eight of the second class, similarly selected from among the nobility, if, indeed, their offices may not be considered actually hereditary, as there appears to be some reason to believe. Other ministers are also mentioned, who do not appear to be comprehended in the council: these are the temple lords, who would seem to be laymen, though the actual regulators of all religious matters, and the two ministers, called by some writers commissioners for foreign affairs, by others lieutenants of police or heads of the spies; and, indeed, the relations with foreigners would appear naturally to belong rather to the police department than to any especial ministerial office. The councillors of both classes are almost always chosen from among the descendants of those princes and nobles who distinguished themselves as partisans of the founder of the present *ziogoon* dynasty during the civil war that preceded, and in the intrigues that assisted his usurpation. Over the council presides a councillor of the highest class, who is invariably a descendant of Ino-Kamonno-Kami, a minister who rendered essential service to the usurper's posterity. This president is styled governor of the empire; and his office, resembling that of a European premier, or more nearly that of an Oriental vizier, appears to transcend both in authority. All the other councillors, and every department of the administration, are subordinate to him; nothing can be undertaken without his concurrence; and a notion is said to prevail in Japan, that he may, by his own power, depose a *zio-*

* Siebold.

goon who governs ill, and substitute another, of course the legal heir, in his place ; but this is manifestly erroneous, and has arisen from a mistaken conception of a power of this kind vested in the whole council, though it may possibly be sometimes exercised by the president alone, as will presently be explained.

The council of state transacts the entire business of the government ; decides upon every measure ; sanctions or reverses every sentence of death pronounced by an imperial governor ; appoints to all efficient offices ; corresponds with the local authorities ; and, upon the occurrence in any part of the empire of any matter in which the course to be pursued is not clearly marked out by law or precedent, must be consulted, and pronounce its decree, before a single step can be taken even by the highest local officers. Each councillor has his own particular department, for which, ordinarily, he alone is responsible ; though upon any important point his measures must previously be discussed, and adopted or rejected by the whole body of his colleagues, headed by the president.

When any matter has been duly investigated and determined upon by the council, it is laid before the *ziogoon* for his approval. This usually follows, as a matter of course, nine times in ten without the monarch's even inquiring what it is that he is called upon to confirm. But if, by some extraordinary chance, he should happen to trouble himself about the concerns of his empire, and, either upon rational grounds or through caprice, withhold the sanction asked of him, the course to be observed in this emergency is prescribed by law. The measure is not abandoned, as might be supposed by those who look upon the *ziogoon* as a despotic sovereign, but is referred to the arbitration of three princes of the blood, the nearest kinsmen of the monarch, his presumptive heir, in default of a son, being one of them, if of sufficient age. The sentence of these arbitrators, whatever it

may be, and whatever the question submitted to them, is not only final, but fraught with highly-important consequences.

Should their verdict coincide with the sentiments of the council, the *ziogoon* is placed in what in Europe would be considered a most painful situation; he may not revoke his previous refusal, and yield to the united judgment of his ministers and the arbitrators, but is obliged immediately to abdicate in favour of his son or other legal heir. Such abdications are, from various causes, so frequently occurring, that they bear a specific name, *inkioe*; and a suitable habitation is as regularly provided for the retiring monarch, as is a jointure-house for a queen-dowager in England. To this abode he instantly retires, and his successor takes possession of the vacated palace.

Should the arbitrators, on the other hand, pronounce the monarch to be in the right, the consequences are yet more serious: the minister who proposed the obnoxious act, and, at times, the whole council, with the president at their head, are obliged to lay violent hands upon themselves in the ordinary Japanese mode. When, besides this always possible, if not frequently-recurring catastrophe, it is considered that the whole council, collectively and individually, is surrounded by spies, both known and unknown, employed by superiors and inferiors, by rivals, and by each other, it must be obvious that these seemingly absolute ministers cannot venture upon the slightest infraction of any law, or upon any act of violence, of rapacity, or of arbitrary power, but with the sword of Damocles hanging over their heads.

We now turn to the vassal princes of the empire, who appear to be the chief objects of apprehension to the *ziogoon* and his council.

There were originally sixty-eight principalities, hereditary, but subject to forfeiture in case of treason. Of this, advantage was taken by successive usurpers

during the civil wars, to weaken the more powerful princes by the subdivision of their dominions; the consequence of which has been, that there are now, it is said, six hundred and four distinct administrations, including great and small principalities, lordships, imperial provinces, and imperial towns.

These princes, called *kok-syoe*, or lords of the land, are divided into two grades, the *daimioe*, or very much honoured, who hold their principalities directly of the *mikado*, and the *saimioe*, or much honoured, who hold theirs of the *ziagoon*. Both the *daimioe* and *saimioe* are nominally absolute in their respective states. They govern with all the forms of actual sovereignty, and each one, by means of his vassal nobles, maintains his own army. But they are entangled in a net of subtle policy, which disables even the mightiest from attempting aught against the *ziagoon* or his council; and so completely and annoyingly are they controlled, both in their public duties and private enjoyments, that among no class of Japanese is the practice of *inkioe*, or abdicating in favour of a son, so prevalent as with these grandees. A reigning prince of advanced age is rarely seen.

The actual government of every principality is conducted, not by the prince himself or by ministers of his choice, but by two *gokaros* or secretaries, appointed by the council at Yedo, the one to reside in the principality, the other at Yedo, where the family of the absent secretary is detained as hostages for his fidelity. These double appointments extend to all high provincial offices; and it is only by the annual alternation of posts that the two colleagues are enabled to pass any time with their families. Not are these functionaries, thus obtruded on their nominal master, allowed to act either as their own or the prince's judgment may dictate. They are, in fact, the mere delegates of the council, whose orders are transmitted through the secretary at Yedo to the secretary at the capital of the principality.

Every alternate year, or the half of every year, each prince is compelled to spend at Yedo, and that is the only time during which he can enjoy the society of his family, detained there as hostages for his good behaviour. Nor are the princes indulged in any alleviation of their domestic privations. During their residence in their own dominions, not only are they separated from their families, but strictly prohibited from holding any sort of intercourse with the other sex. The ceremonious observances that fill up their time are prescribed at Yedo. They may not appear without their palace walls except at stated seasons and according to certain specified forms; nay, the very hours of their lying down and rising up are imperatively appointed by the council. That every infraction of these intolerable restrictions will be made known to the council through the spies, the princes and their households are well aware; but it is said that into some of the principalities these spies can penetrate only at the hazard of their lives; from one, Satzuma,* few, it has been stated, ever return; and as the Yedo government never acknowledges them as its servants, it gives itself no trouble to inquire into or avenge their fate.

But all this does not afford sufficient security in the opinion of the council. Lest the princes should, even at the sacrifice of all that is dear to them, confederate against the *ziogoon*, neighbouring princes are not allowed to reside simultaneously in their respective dominions, unless, indeed, ill-will should be known to exist between them, in which case their mutual jealousies are sedulously fomented, by freely affording them occasions of collision. But the plan chiefly relied upon to ensure their allegiance is to keep them dependant by poverty; and to reduce them to the required state of indigence, various means are resorted to.

In the first place, nearly the whole military duty of the empire is thrown upon the princes ; they are required to maintain troops rateably, according to the extent of their dominions, and even to furnish those required for the imperial provinces, the administration of which is avowedly in the hands of the Yedo council. Thus, at Nagasaki, which during the last two centuries has been the only seat of foreign commerce, the whole profit of which is devoured by the *ziogoon*, council, governors, and their subordinates, and which, for that very purpose, was dismembered from a principality and converted into an imperial city, the duty of guarding the bay falls entirely upon the princes of Fizen and Tsikuzen, whose dominions it divides. The two centuries of profound peace which Japan has enjoyed since the adoption of the exclusive system have naturally lessened the need of troops. There has consequently been a diminution of expense, but neither the princes nor their subjects are allowed to profit by this saving. The number of troops required at present to be maintained by each prince has been, it is true, reduced in just proportion to the greater number formerly appointed ; but the sum which the troops so dispensed with would have cost they are required to pay into the treasury at Yedo. It is said that they still keep in service nearly 300,000 foot and 50,000 horse.”*

There are other modes of impoverishment, to which recourse is had when necessary. One is, obliging the princes to display the utmost pomp and magnificence during their residence at Yedo, involving the most extravagant expenditure. But, should these expedients for draining his exchequer prove not sufficiently effectual with some very opulent or prudent prince, there are two resources still kept in reserve which have never been known to fail. One

* Edinburgh Gazetteer.

of these is the *ziogoon's* inviting himself to dine with his inconveniently wealthy vassal at his Yedo palace; the other, the obtaining for him from the *mikado* some post of honour at his court. The expense of duly entertaining the *ziogoon* or of receiving the investiture of an exalted office in the *dairi* is such as no Japanese fortune has yet proved itself able to withstand.

Of the lordships it may suffice to say, that they seem to be merely inferior principalities, the government of which is managed and controlled in a manner perfectly analogous to that just described. The troops belonging to them are included in the numbers stated above.

The government of the provinces and towns retained as imperial domains is administered by officers selected by the state council at Yedo, and whose fidelity is secured in a similar manner. To every government two officers are appointed, one of whom resides at Yedo, the other at his post, his family remaining at court as hostages, while he himself is subjected to the same restrictions and annoyances as the princes in their principalities, and the two governors annually change places with each other. Their authority in their governments is equal to that of the princes, or, rather, of the princes' secretaries, except that they cannot inflict capital punishment until the sentence has been ratified at Yedo, while the princes may freely exercise this act of sovereignty. But neither the princes nor governors like to pronounce sentence of death, lest the perpetration of crimes requiring such punishment should be imputed to connivance, negligence, or general mal-administration on their part, and induce deposal or dismissal, as the case may be.

The governors are assisted by an official establishment, the members of which are appointed by the council of state, and most of whom are subject to the same restrictions as themselves. Their num

ber would appear incredible were we not told that it is a principle of the Japanese government to employ as many persons as possible of the higher and middle classes. The official establishment of the town of Nagasaki, the only one of which the Dutch writers have any personal knowledge, may be worth giving as a sample.*

The governor has under him two secretaries, and a number of *gobanyosis* or superior police-officers, to each of whom is allotted a certain department for which he is held responsible, and a number of *banyooses* or under police-officers to execute his orders. All these are subject to the governor's authority; but the following functionaries are wholly independent of him, viz., the treasurer, a sort of local chancellor of the exchequer, who is second in rank to the governor, and has an accountant to assist him in his labours, and the military commandant of the town and district, who is next in rank. Of all these officials, the *banyooses*, who are of a very inferior rank, excepted, only the treasurer and the military commandant are permitted to have their families at Nagasaki. It is needless to repeat that they are all surrounded by spies.

And here, having occasion again to mention these ever-recurring spies, it may be worth while to pause a moment, to say a word or two more in relation to them, as they form the mainspring of the Japanese government. Their Japanese name of *metsuke* is interpreted by Dr. Von Siebold to mean "steady looker" or observer; by the Dutch writers, "lookers across." They are of every rank in life, from the lowest to the highest, beneath that of a prince, since even the proudest noblemen undertake the base office, either in obedience to commands which it would be death (that is, would impose the necessity of self-destruction) to disobey, or impelled by the

* Doeff and Meylan.

hope of succeeding to the lucrative post of him in whom they can succeed in detecting guilt. Those spies at Nagasaki who are subject to the governor are entitled to demand an audience of him at any hour of the day or night; and wo betide him should he, by postponing their admission, incur the risk of their reports being transmitted to Yedo otherwise than through himself. But there are other spies, not officially known, whose business it is to watch the governor himself, as is shown by the following anecdote of the success of one of this class. The incident did not, indeed, fall under the personal observation of the members of the Dutch factory, as it occurred in another and remote government, Matsmai; but it is given upon good authority, and admits of general application.

“Complaints* of the governor of this province had reached the court, which took its own measures for ascertaining their truth. The agreeable tidings that the governor was displaced were speedily received; but it was not without astonishment that the capital, Matsmai, recognised in his successor a journeyman tobacco-cutter, who, some months before, had suddenly disappeared from his master’s shop. The journeyman tobacco-cutter had been personated by a noble of the land, who had assumed that disguise in order to exercise the office of a spy, for which he had been sent to Matsmai by the court.”

To return to Nagasaki. The officers hitherto mentioned are all government officers; but the affairs of the town itself, its police, &c., are managed, not by them, but by special municipal authorities, to wit, a council of nine, somewhat akin to our mayor and aldermen, but holding their stations hereditarily. The resolutions of this council must, however, be unanimous; if not, they are submitted to the governor. The municipal council employ as their min-

masters and servants a regiment of *ottonas* and *kasseros*, to whose superintendence the peace and good conduct of the town are committed : a superintendence much facilitated by closing the gates of every street at a certain hour of the evening, after which no one can pass in or out without a special permission from his *kassero* or *ottona*.

But all this watchful organization does not satisfy the anxiety, despotic or paternal, of the government for the safety of the people, or, perhaps we should say, for the safety of their institutions. Every town and village in the realm is parcelled out into lots of five houses, the heads of which are made answerable for each other ; each one is bound to report to his *kassero* any misdemeanour, irregularity, or even unusual occurrence in either of his four neighbours' houses, which from the *kassero* is transmitted through the *ottona* to the municipal council ; so that it may be said, not that one half, but that each half of the nation is made a spy upon the other half, or that the entire nation is a spy upon itself. The householders are farther bound to exercise the same vigilance over the portion of the street lying in front of their own dwellings ; any disaster that may happen there, in a chance broil among strangers, being imputed to the negligence of the opposite householders. Any neglect of interference or report is punished, according to the occasion, with fine, stripes, imprisonment, or arrest in the offender's own house, which last is a very different thing in Japan from what it is in other countries. In Japan, the entire family of a person sentenced to domiciliary confinement is cut off from all intercourse with the external world, the doors and windows of the house being boarded up to ensure perfect seclusion. The offender, if he be in any official station, is suspended during the whole time from his office and salary ; if a tradesman or artisan, from exercising his trade ; and, farther, no man in the house may shave : not only an incon-

venience, but a great disgrace. How the subsistence of the family is provided for during this period of inaction and nonintercourse does not appear.

In connexion with this system of *espionage*, it is permitted that a man may have some power of choosing the neighbours he is to watch and to be watched by. Accordingly, no one can change his residence without a certificate of good conduct from the inhabitants of the vicinage he wishes to leave, and permission to come among them from those of the street to which he would remove. The result of this minutely ramified and thorough organization is said to be, that, no part of the empire affording a hiding-place for the criminal, there is not a country in the world where so few crimes against property are committed, and doors may be left unbarred with little fear of robbery.

The population of Japan, which is variously estimated by different writers at from 15,000,000 to 40,000,000, and even as high as 45,000,000 souls, is divided, if not exactly into castes, yet into nearly hereditary classes. It is held to be the duty of every individual to remain through life in the same class in which he was born, unless exalted by some very peculiar and extraordinary circumstance. To endeavour to rise above his station is in some degree discreditable; to sink below it is utterly disgraceful. These classes are eight.*

Class 1 is that of the *kok-syoe* or princes, including both the *daimioe* and *saimioe*, whose condition has been already sufficiently noticed.

Class 2 is that of the *kie-nien*, literally "noblemen." These, as we have before observed, hold their lands in fief by military service due to their respective princes, or, in the imperial provinces, to the *ziogoon*. The number of soldiers to be furnished by each nobleman is regulated by the size and value

* Meylan.

of his estate, and they provide for the performance of this duty by the under-granting or subinfeudation of their lands. From this noble class are selected such of the ministers as are not princes, the great officers of state, governors, generals, &c., &c.; and the universal passion for office serves in a great measure to keep the nobility dependant upon the court, but not sufficiently so to satisfy the jealousy of the government. Many of the precautions employed against the princes are accordingly resorted to in reference to the nobles. They are not, it is true, deprived of their families except when holding a provincial office, but then they are compelled to spend a considerable part of every year at Yedo, and are there required to display a magnificence which, if not quite equal to that exacted from the princes, is still so far beyond their means that it greatly weakens them; first, by impoverishing them; and secondly, by making it necessary that they should lessen the number of their military vassals, that they may derive a larger income from their estates. In the profound peace which Japan has for two centuries enjoyed, this is probably esteemed a safe policy.

Class 3 consists of the priesthood, both Sintoo and Buddhist. But of these it will be more convenient to speak in the chapter upon the religion of Japan.

Class 4 is that of the *samlai* or military, composed of the vassals of the nobility. The service by which they hold their lands is at present, and has long been, if not altogether nominal, yet very easy, as they have merely to raise troops sufficient to furnish guards and give splendour to the courts of the *mikado*, the *ziogoon*, and the princes, to preserve internal tranquillity, and to watch the coast. The large numbers before stated are probably what might be called forth in cases of emergency. In former times, prior to the closing of the empire against foreigners and the confinement of the natives within its limits, the Japanese soldiery are said to have been well known

and highly valued throughout Asia, where, as soldiers of fortune, they served every potentate and state willing to engage them. That practice is now forbidden; and their military prowess must have greatly deteriorated, since it has been without any suitable field of action. Still this class, inefficient and useless as it may now appear, ranks in general esteem next to their feudal superiors. The *ziogoon* is said to maintain, besides the *samlai* in the imperial provinces, a body of armed men called *dozin*, included in this class, but considered very inferior to the *samlai*, and more resembling the French *gens-d'armes* than regular troops.

It should be observed, while upon this subject, that Capt. Golownin, in his account of his captivity in Japan, represents the imperial soldiers as being so superior in rank and appearance to those of the princes, that he at first mistook the imperial privates for officers. No writer of the Dutch factory, however, mentions any such difference; and, generally speaking, Golownin's situation (a prisoner in a remote province, conversing only through rude and ignorant Kurile interpreters, or by teaching his visitors Russian) rendered him so obnoxious to error, that when he differs from those who had better, though still very imperfect, means of information, his testimony is entitled to little weight; nevertheless, upon this subject, having been almost wholly guarded by the military, it is certainly possible that he should be better informed than upon many others, and that such a difference may actually exist. And as the *ziogoon's* troops, independent of the princes, have been estimated at not less than 100,000 foot* and 20,000 horse, he may very likely have both *samlai* and *dozin* in his immediate service.

These four classes constitute the higher orders of the Japanese, and enjoy the special and much-envied

* Edinburgh Gazetteer.

privilege of wearing two swords, and the *hakama*, or petticoat-trousers.

Class 5 comprehends the upper portion of the middle orders of society. It consists of inferior officials and professional, that is to say, medical men; persons deemed respectable, or, to borrow an expressive French phrase, *comme il faut*, and permitted to wear one sword and the above-named trousers.

Class 6 comprises the lower or trading portion of the middle orders, as merchants and the more considerable shopkeepers. In this class, regarded with ineffable disdain, are found the only wealthy individuals in Japan. Far from being, like their superiors, forced into extravagant ostentation for the purpose of impoverishment, these persons are not allowed to imitate that ostentation. The degree of splendour they are permitted to display is strictly limited; and they can spend their money only in those luxuries, pleasures, and comforts which their superiors are obliged to forego, in order that they may be able to support the dignity of their station. The degrading step by which the richest merchant, if he aspire to ape his superiors, can alone evade these sumptuary laws, has been already noticed; and even when by this humiliation he has purchased the indulgence of wearing a sword, never, under any circumstances, can he aspire to the *hakama* or trousers.

Class 7 is composed of petty shopkeepers, mechanics, and artisans of all descriptions (one trade, of which more presently, alone excepted), including also artists. The general appreciation of this class it is not easy to determine, as every separate description of persons composing it appears to be differently valued, according to their particular occupation or trade; as, for instance, goldsmiths and painters, it is said, rank much above carpenters and blacksmiths; but whether any difference is made between artists and mere house-painters does not appear.

Class 8 consists of the peasantry and day labourers of every kind. Of the former, the greater part appear to be, in fact, the *villeins* or serfs of the landed proprietors; and even those who make some approach to the condition of an English farmer, or, rather, of a Continental *metayer* (that being the Japanese mode of letting land), are said to be so heavily burdened with contributions that indigence keeps them in a state of complete degradation.

To these legally recognised classes might be added a ninth, to embrace the exception from the seventh above alluded to. This would consist of the tanners, curriers, and all the unfortunate beings connected in any way with the leather trade. From some peculiar prejudice, originating probably in the Sintoo doctrine of defilement by contact with the remains of any creature that has died, these dealers in hides and leather are the very *pariahs* or outcasts of Japanese society. They are not permitted to dwell in towns or hamlets with other men, but inhabit villages exclusively their own, whence they are never called into the towns but to discharge the functions of executioners and jailers, in which, if they need assistance, the tea-house proprietors are bound to supply it. They are not allowed to pollute an inn or public house with their presence; but, if they call for any refreshment on a journey, they are served with it on the outside, and the landlord would sooner throw away than receive back a vessel from which one of them had drunk. Finally, they are not numbered with the rest of the population in any census; and, what is yet more whimsical, their villages, when situated upon the high road, are not measured into the length of the road,* but are subtracted from it as nonentities; so that, in paying by the distance between town and town for the relays of men and cattle stationed at the post-

* Siebold.

houses, the traveller is actually carried *gratis* through a village inhabited by leather-makers.

The Japanese laws are exceedingly sanguinary, recognising but little distinction between different shades of guilt, and none that depends upon the varying circumstances and magnitude of theft. They admit of no fines, except, perhaps, for some trifling* misdemeanour amenable to the municipal authorities, since, in the opinion of the Japanese legislators, such pecuniary punishments would give an unfair advantage to rich over poor criminals. Imprisonment, banishment to some nearly uninhabited island, or death, are the usual penalties for crime, and are frequently extended to the entire family of the offender.

Due pains are likewise taken to make the laws known to all classes alike. In every town and village is a spot, enclosed by palisades, where, from a scaffold erected for the purpose, every new law is proclaimed to the people, and where it is afterward placarded for the benefit of such as may not have been present to hear the proclamation. The code of police regulations is kept constantly posted up at the same place.

In fact, the administration of justice is said to be extremely pure, making no distinction between high and low, rich and poor. If offences against the state are more certainly punished than those against individuals, it is only because the officers of government would risk their own lives by neglecting to prosecute a state criminal, while the prosecution of other crimes rests with the individual injured, who may not think it worth his while, merely for the gratification of taking a fellow-creature's life, to add the expense and trouble of a lawsuit to the evils he has already endured.

Minor complaints and offences are carried before the *ottonas*,† who act, in a manner secretly, as police

* Meylan.

† Fischer.

magistrates, under the advice and control of the spies. The fairness of their adjudications is farther ensured by a right of appeal to the public tribunals. But to afford means of escaping such publicity is one principal object of the authority intrusted to these municipal delegates, who redress grievances and punish small transgressions *nayboen*, thus sparing the character and feelings of many an offender.

The public tribunals are represented as being very solemn, diligent, and acute in their proceedings, and as seldom failing to elicit the truth. But to effect this, when evidence and other means are wanting, they have recourse to torture. From their verdict there is no appeal.

Capital punishment, and even sentence of death, in all cases involve confiscation of property and disgrace to the family of the criminal. Hence a man of the higher orders publicly accused, and conscious of guilt, will prevent his trial by at once committing suicide. If the criminal be arrested too suddenly to allow of his taking this step, and the family excite sufficient interest to induce the judicial and prison authorities to incur some little risk for their sake, recourse is had to one of two private or *nayboen* forms of death before the sentence is pronounced. When the kindness felt is very great, the prisoner is secretly supplied with a weapon with which to rip himself up; but this is a rare indulgence, because attended with considerable hazard to the friendly agent. The more ordinary course is to order the prisoner to be tortured for the purpose of extorting confession; at the same time causing an intimation to be given to the executioner, that, should the operation prove fatal, no questions will be asked. In either case the prisoner is reported to have died of disease; and, being presumed guiltless because unconvicted, the body is delivered to the family for interment, and the evils accompanying conviction are thus avoided.

When the criminal has not in this way anticipated his fate and is sentenced to death, he is bound with cords, set upon a horse, and thus led to the place of execution, which is an open field without the town, where his crime is made known by proclamation and by hoisting a flag. Upon his way thither, any person who pleases may offer him refreshment: a permission, however, which is seldom made use of. Upon reaching the appointed spot, the judges, with their assistants, take their places, surrounded by the *insignia* of their office and by unsheathed weapons. The prisoner here receives from the executioner a cup of *sakee*, with some of its ordinary accompaniments, as dried or salted fish, roots, mushrooms, fruit, or pastry, and this he is allowed to share with his friends. He is then seated upon a straw mat, between two heaps of sand, and his head is struck off with a sword.

The severed head is then set up upon a stake, to which is affixed a placard announcing the crime that had been visited by such punishment. It is thus exposed for three days, after which the relations are allowed to bury as much of the corpse as the birds of prey have left.

Such is the description given by the Dutch writers of a public execution, and doubtless it is what they have witnessed at Nagasaki. But a conjecture may be hazarded that these forms are observed only towards criminals of the lower orders, as would seem not improbable from what has been said in a former chapter as to the mode of putting high-born offenders to death; and perhaps to this a second might be added, viz., that, however precise the laws of Japan, much is left to the pleasure of the judge as to the mode of inflicting capital punishment. But, whatever may be thought of the conjectures thus thrown out, it is very certain that these are the most merciful forms of execution, since we elsewhere learn that prisoners are often publicly tortured

to death, and that the skill of an executioner is measured by the number of wounds (sixteen is said to be the maximum) that he can inflict without taking life.* Upon these occasions it is reported that the young nobles are accustomed to lend the executioner their swords, to try the edge and temper of a new blade. It is farther asserted that they take great delight in witnessing executions, especially such as are rendered more excruciating by torture. One species of torture, in which a shirt of reeds, the criminal's only garment, is set on fire, is esteemed so exceedingly entertaining from the sufferer's agonized contortions, that it has acquired the name of "the death *dance*."†

While speaking of the modes of execution, it should be noticed that suicide by the *hara-kiri*, in the *Annals* of the *Ziogoons*,‡ is spoken of as a punishment commanded by the monarch. This statement, though at variance with every other upon the same subject, derives a character of authenticity from the Japanese origin of the book. Yet when it is considered that the ostensive translator, Titsingh, was very little acquainted with Japanese; that his translation was in fact made by native interpreters with their imperfect knowledge of Dutch; that the scientific philologist, Klaproth, finds the *opperhoofd's* other translation full of blunders; and, finally, that the work was first published long after Titsingh's death, in a French version, the accuracy of the account may be doubted, and the conjecture admitted, that an imperial hint to a great personage that he would act wisely to resort to the *hara-kiri* may have been interpreted into a command.

The prisons for slight offenders, and their treatment therein, are very tolerable. Captain Golownin describes the worst in which he and his companions were confined at Matsmai as a row of cages in a building like a barn; and, notwithstanding his bitter

* Titsingh.

† Mev'an.

‡ See Note XIII.

complaints, it is evident, from his own account, that these cages were tolerably airy, with due provision for cleanliness and warmth; also, that the prisoners were reasonably well fed, according to the dietetic notions of the country, though inadequately for Russian appetites. That this was an ordinary prison is likewise evident from several circumstances; such as his having been told, when about to be removed thither from another place of confinement, that he was now to be placed in a real prison; his finding in one of the cages a native culprit under sentence of flagellation; and the name *roya*, "a cage," which he gives as designating this building, being also given by Kämpfer as the name of a prison.

But this description by no means applies to prisons destined for heinous offenders, tried or untried, and which all accounts represent as being horrid in the extreme, and most appropriately named *gokuya*—in English, hell. In these prisons* or dungeons fifteen or twenty persons are crowded together in one room, situated within the walls of the government-house, lighted and ventilated only by a solitary small grated window in the roof. The doors of these dungeons are never opened except to carry in or bring out a prisoner. The captives are refused books, pipes, and recreation of every kind; they are not allowed to take their own bedding in with them, and their silk or linen girdle is exchanged for a straw band, the wearing of which is reputed to be highly degrading. The filth of these dungeons is removed through a hole in the wall, and through the same hole the food of the prisoners is introduced. Their victuals are of the very worst description; and although the prisoners are allowed to purchase or to receive from their friends those of a better kind, no individual is permitted to enjoy what he has thus acquired unless it be sufficient to satisfy the appetites of all his dun-

* Fischer.

geon companions, since the inmates of these detestable abodes, being left wholly to their own government while confined there, uniformly establish the law of the strongest, and in its worst form : a ruthless tyranny, where the strongest means the majority.

CHAPTER IX.

ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHARACTER AND MANNERS OF THE JAPANESE.

The *Phaeton*, Captain Pellew, enters Nagasaki Bay.—Transactions there.—Japanese Governor's Plans.—Neglect of Duty Discovered.—The *Phaeton's* Departure.—Disastrous Results.—Siebold's Adventures.—Tchouya's Conspiracy.—Arrests.—His Wife's Presence of Mind.—He and his Friends tortured.—Sibata Zabrobi's Friendship.—Execution.—Yorinobon's Escape by his Secretary's Suicide.—Gratitude of his Posterity.—Ziogoon's Purpose of Illegal Adoption.—Minister's Fruitless Remonstrances.—*Midia's* Mode of Prevention.—Japanese Lucretia.—Minister Threatened.—His Good-humour.—Test of an Accountant's Qualifications.—Safe Mode of Nicknaming a Monarch.—Ingenuity of a Fisherman.—Its Reward.—Artificial Mermaid.—Curious Mode of Trial.

OF this kind of illustration recent Dutch writers afford very little, and that little is chiefly found in Doeff's Recollections ; but from Titsingh's Annals a few anecdotes may be gathered, that strongly exemplify some national peculiarities both of mind and manners, as the vindictiveness and the inflexible constancy of the Japanese, the slight account they make of human life, save when its loss would imply an act of injustice, their love of jesting, their ideas of good-breeding, &c. The following occurrences are related by Doeff.

In the year 1808, Capt. Pellew, of the English ship

Phaeton, while cruising in the Indian seas, projected the capture of the annual Dutch vessels trading to Japan. His search for them, of course, proved unsuccessful, as none were despatched during that year ; he prosecuted it, however, even into the Bay of Nagasaki. The consequences of this step were such, we are assured, as to excite a fierce hatred of England in the minds of the Japanese.

Upon Capt. Pellew's making the coast, the report of a strange vessel being in sight was brought to Nagasaki, and the usual deputation was sent forth. The boat with the members of the Dutch factory was ahead of that containing the Japanese commissioners, and, as the ship displayed Dutch colours, advanced without suspicion to meet her shallop, when, as soon as the Dutch officials were within reach, they were seized, dragged forcibly into the ship's boat, and carried on board. The Japanese police-officers and interpreter, in utter dismay at so unexpected and incomprehensible a catastrophe, rowed back to relate the misadventure that had happened to their colleagues. The governor of Nagasaki, to whom the loss of two of the strangers in his charge was matter of life and death, ordered the *gobanyosis* to bring back the captured Dutchmen or not return alive ; and then sent to ask Heer Doeff what could be the meaning of the occurrence, and whether he saw any means of recovering his people. Doeff replied that he conceived the ship to be an English man-of-war, and that the Dutchmen, being civilians, might be recovered by negotiation. But even while these messages were passing the *Phaeton* made her way, unpiloted, into the harbour, and the Japanese, confounded at an exploit so altogether unprecedented, raised the cry that she was bearing down upon Dezima.

The governor, who now feared that he might lose his whole factory, ordered all the Dutch, with their most valuable effects, to the government-house, where, at least, they would be as safe as himself

They found him in a terrible rage, and he greeted Heer Doeff with the words, "Be you easy, *opperhoofd*; I will have your Dutchmen back for you." Soon afterward came a note from one of the captives, stating that the ship was English, and that Capt. Pellew requested provisions and water.

With this demand the governor declared himself little disposed to comply, and he busily set to work to provide means for destroying the strange vessel, according to the tenour of his instructions in such cases. His first measure was to summon the troops from the nearest post, one of the Prince of Fizen's, where a thousand men were bound to be constantly on duty; only sixty or seventy, however, were found there, the commandant himself being among the missing. This neglect of orders by others nearly sealed the governor's own fate; but he did not intermit his efforts to regain the Dutch prisoners, and his scheme to effect this was truly Japanese. The chief secretary waited upon Doeff, informing him that he had received orders to bring back the captives; and to the question "How?" replied, "Even as the ship has seized the Dutch treacherously, so shall I go on board quite alone, and with the strongest professions of friendship. I am then to ask to speak to the captain, and request of him the restoration of your countrymen; and in case of a refusal, to stab him first, and then myself." Doeff's representations to both the secretary and the governor, that such an act must infallibly end in the death of the captives by the hands of the enraged crew, could with difficulty induce them to abandon this wildly-vindictive project.

One of the Dutch captives was now sent on shore on parole, to obtain the provisions asked for. He reported that he and his comrade had been closely interrogated as to the annual Dutch ships, and that the English captain had threatened, should he detect any attempt at deception, to put them both to death, and burn every vessel in the harbour, whether Jap-

Japanese or Chinese. The governor was most unwilling to permit the recovered Dutchman to return to captivity, but was at length convinced of the necessity of suffering him to keep his word for the sake of his captive companion. He then gave him some provisions and water to take on board, but in very small quantities, hoping by this means to detain the ship until he should be ready for hostilities. Capt. Pellew had now satisfied himself that his hoped-for prizes were not in Nagasaki Bay, and, in consequence, upon receiving this scanty supply, he sent both the Dutchmen on shore. Their release was to the two police-officers, who were still rowing despondingly round the *Phaeton*, meditating upon the impossibility of executing their commission, a respite from certain death.

Meanwhile the governor was collecting his forces to attack the English frigate; but his operations proceeded slowly, and other subsidiary measures were suggested. The Prince of Omura, who came to Nagasaki with his troops before dawn, advised burning her, by means of fifty small boats filled with combustibles, the Dutch president preventing her escape by sinking vessels laden with stones in the difficult passage out of the harbour. But while these various plans were under consideration, troops assembling from all quarters, and commissioners rowing from shore to gain time by proposals to negotiate respecting commerce, the Englishman, who had no farther object in remaining, sailed out of the harbour as he had sailed in, unpiloted, leaving the Japanese even more confounded than before.

The Dutch now returned to Dezima, and, as far as they were concerned, the whole affair was over. Not so, however, with respect to the Japanese. The governor had, involuntarily indeed, failed of fulfilling his orders by suffering the escape of the intruder; and he felt, also, that he had been negligent in not knowing the state of the coast-guard posts. To a

Japanese, the course to be taken by him under such circumstances could not require deliberation. Nor did it. The catastrophe is thus told.

“He so well knew the fate that awaited him, that, within half an hour of our departure, he assembled his household, and in their presence destroyed himself. The commanders of the neglected posts, officers, not of the *ziogoon*, but of the Prince of Fizen, followed his example, thus saving their kindred from inevitable dishonour.* That their remissness would indeed have been punished with the utmost severity, appears from the circumstance that the Prince of Fizen, though not then in his dominions, but compulsorily resident at Yedo, was punished with a hundred days’ imprisonment, in consequence of his servants whom he had left behind him not duly obeying his orders. On the other hand, the young son of the governor of Nagasaki, who was altogether blameless on the occasion, is at this time in high favour at court, and has obtained an excellent post. When I visited the court of Yedo in 1810, I was told the following particulars respecting this youth. The Prince of Fizen, considering that the death of the governor of Nagasaki might in a great measure be imputed to him, inasmuch as the desertion of the guard-posts, though occurring without his fault, had mainly contributed to it, requested permission of the council of state to make a present of two thousand *kobans* (about \$12,700) to the son of the unfortunate governor. Not only was this request granted, but the wholly unsolicited and unexpected favour was added, that *to spare him the trouble of farther applications, he might repeat the gift annually.* This permission, *being equivalent to a command*, compelled the Prince of Fizen to pay an annuity of this amount to the governor’s orphans.”†

These events falling within Heer Doeff’s personal

* See Note XIV.

† Doeff.

knowledge, admirably exemplify the spirit of the Japanese government and show on what occasions suicide becomes imperative. It is melancholy to be obliged to add that, according to report, Dr. Von Siebold has had the misfortune of causing a similar catastrophe, though upon a smaller scale. The details are not yet before the public; but we have, from distinct sources, obtained two different versions, and shall briefly state both.

According to the first, the high reputation of the doctor for science, and the favour of influential Japanese friends, obtained for him permission to remain at Yedo for the purpose of giving instruction to the learned members of the college, while Colonel Van Sturler returned to Dezima; and afterward permission, more extraordinary still, to travel in the empire. He was, however, prohibited from taking plans or making maps, and, having been detected in the transgression of this prohibition, was imprisoned. His escape was effected by the fidelity and attachment of his Japanese domestics; but the person or persons who were responsible for his safe keeping had no resource but the *hara-kiri*.

According to the other account, which is the more probable as well as less painful, Siebold obtained no extraordinary favour from the Yedo government, and returned with the mission to Dezima. But the Japanese astronomer 'Takahasi Lakusaimon had, in contravention of the law, allowed him to have a copy made of a recently-completed map of Japan, and having subsequently given some offence to the draughtsman who had been employed to prepare it, his crime was denounced to the government. An investigation followed; Siebold's correspondence with 'Takahasi was demanded; and the geographical matters contained therein, combined with the original suspicion conceived by the interpreters of Siebold not being a Hollander, induced the belief that he was a Russian spy. The investigation was yet more

vigorously prosecuted, and severe measures, in Japanese fashion, were threatened. All Siebold's known friends and correspondents were thrown into dungeons except one, who was allowed or commanded to become what we should term state's evidence. This person's first step was to break his oath, out of friendship to Siebold, and to give him notice of what was contemplated against him; in consequence of which warning he was enabled to secure his most valuable documents, and to prepare copies for the use of the government commissioners before his papers were seized and he himself placed under arrest at Dezima. He was repeatedly examined by the governor of Nagasaki, but steadily refused to name any of his accomplices, and requested to be allowed to pass his life in a Japanese prison as a hostage for the innocence of his friends, and to answer for the consequences of his transgressions. The investigation lasted nearly a year, but finally ended more favourably than could have been expected. Many of the accused Japanese were released, and Siebold was simply banished from Japan: Takahasi and his accuser the draughtsman, however, thought suicide incumbent upon them, or at least advisable. In the spring of 1830, some months later, the remaining prisoners were, to the general surprise, not only set at liberty, but invested with official rank and stationed along the eastern coast, to act as interpreters and inspectors in case of any attempt to land by whalers, or other European or American navigators.

These are the stories circulated upon the Continent. The correctness of neither can be avouched, still less the accuracy of the details; but of the fact that the German doctor's scientific researches, like the escape of the British sailor, were the unintentional cause of Japanese suicide, there seems to be, unhappily, no doubt.

The following fragment of history, from the au

nals of the *ziogoons* of the Gongen dynasty, is characteristic alike of the vindictive temper, resolution, high sense of honour, ferocity in punishment, and long-enduring gratitude of the Japanese.

During* the civil wars (for which the reader is referred to the chapter on Japanese history) between Gongen and his granddaughter's husband Hideyori, the Prince of Toza had been a faithful adherent of the latter, after whose final discomfiture he fell into the conqueror's hands. He endured much cruel and degrading treatment, and at last his hands were ordered to be struck off, which in Japan is the very extremity of dishonour. The prisoner, in indignant terms, upbraided the usurper, who appears to have been present throughout, with his perjury to Hideyori and his barbarity to himself. The answer to his reproaches was immediate decapitation.

The prince's son, Marabosi-Tchouya, resolved to avenge his father's death; but being then a destitute and helpless child, only nine years old, he carefully concealed his purpose until he should find himself in a condition to carry it into effect. No opportunity for this occurred until the accession of Gongen's great-grandson Minamoto-no-yeye-Mitsou, in 1651, when Tchouya was appointed commander of the pikemen of Yori-nobou, the new *ziagoon's* uncle; and he now deemed the moment of revenge had arrived. He concerted his plans with Ziositz, the son of an eminent dyer, but a man of such distinguished ability that he had been tutor to Yori-nobou. This prince himself was suspected of being implicated in the conspiracy; but if it were so, the presence of mind and firmness of his confederates effectually screened him. Yet when we are told that the design of the plot was to exterminate the whole race of Gongen, and to divide the empire between Tchouya and Ziositz, this seems an enterprise so unlikely for

a prince of the proscribed family to participate in, that we must suppose the views of the conspirators to be misrepresented, or Yori-nobou to have been duped by his accomplices, as the close of the transaction renders it hardly possible to acquit him of all knowledge of the conspiracy.

An act of indiscretion on the part of Tchouya, after so many years (nearly fifty) of prudence, betrayed the scheme, and orders were issued for his arrest and that of Ziositz. It was deemed important to seize both, if possible, or at least Tchouya, who resided at Yedo, alive, in the hope of extorting farther disclosures; to effect this, it was indispensable to take him by surprise, and measures were adopted accordingly. An alarm of fire was raised at Tchouva's door, and when he ran out to ascertain the degree of danger threatening his house, he was suddenly surrounded and attacked. He defended himself stoutly, cutting down two of his assailants, but in the end was overpowered by numbers and secured. His wife, meanwhile, hearing the sounds of conflict, and apprehending its cause, immediately caught up those of her husband's papers which would have revealed the names of his confederates (among whom were men of distinction and even princes of the land) and burned them. Her presence of mind remains to this day a topic of admiration in Japan, where the highest panegyric for judgment and resolution that can be bestowed upon a woman is to compare her to the wife of Tchouya. Such qualities, it may be presumed, had procured her the honour, contrary to Japanese custom, of being her husband's confidant.

The plans of government having been thus foiled, even at the moment of their apparent accomplishment, the next orders were to arrest all the known friends of Tchouya. Ziositz avoided capture by the usual form of suicide; but two of his friends, named Ikeyemon and Fatsiyemon, were seized and interro-

pared. They promptly acknowledged their participation in a conspiracy which they esteemed honourable, but refused to betray a single confederate. The destruction of Tchouya's papers left no possible means of discovering the parties implicated, except the confession of one of the prisoners, and they were therefore subjected to tortures sickening to relate, but which must nevertheless be known, if we would justly appreciate either the firmness or the ferocity of the Japanese character.

Tchouya, Ikeyemon, and Fatsiyemon were, in the first place, plastered all over with wet clay, then laid upon hot ashes, until the drying and contracting of the clay rent the flesh into innumerable wounds. Not one of them even changed countenance; and Fatsiyemon, taunting his tormentors, like a Mohawk in the hands of hostile Cherokees, exclaimed, "I have had a long journey, and this warming is good for my health; it will supple my joints, and render my limbs more active." The next form of torture resorted to was making an incision about eight inches long in the back, into which melted copper was poured; and, when the metal had cooled, it was dug out again, tearing away the flesh that adhered to it. This likewise failed to conquer the fortitude of the victims: Fatsiyemon affected to consider it a new-fashioned application of the *moxa*, a Japanese mode of surgical treatment by actual cautery; and Tchouya thus replied to the judge, who urged him to avoid farther suffering by revealing his accomplices: "Scarcely had I completed my ninth year when I resolved to avenge my father and seize the throne. My courage thou canst no more shake than a wall of iron. I defy thy ingenuity! Invent new tortures; my fortitude is proof against them!"

The government now despaired of obtaining any more victims than those they already held, and the day of execution was appointed. As soon as it dawned, the death-doomed amounting in number to

thirty-four, were conducted in procession through the streets of the town, headed by Tchouya: his wife and mother, with the wife of Ikeyemon and four other women, closed the melancholy train; the females being, most likely, not sentenced as accomplices, but merely included in the condemnation of their husbands. It may be here remarked, that out of the thirty-four prisoners only three were tortured, for the reason, probably, that the ringleaders only were supposed to possess the desired knowledge; and Tchouya's wife, who manifestly knew the names so keenly and ferociously sought for, could, as a woman, give no available testimony, even if confession were extorted from her. It would be gratifying to ascribe her exemption from such sufferings as we have described to tenderness for her sex; but as the legal incapacity is sufficient, it is to be feared that this was the real and only ground.

As soon as the procession reached the place of execution, a man bearing two gold-hilted swords broke through the surrounding crowd, approached the minister of justice whose duty it was to superintend the work of death, and thus accosted him: "I am Sibata-Zabrobi, the friend of Tchouya and of Ziositz. Living far remote, I have but lately heard of their discovered conspiracy, and thereupon I immediately hastened to Yedo. Hitherto I have remained in concealment, hoping that the *ziogoon's* clemency would pardon Tchouya; but as he is now condemned to die, I am come to embrace him, and, if need be, to suffer with him." "You are a worthy man," replied the judicial officer, "and I would all the world were like you. I need not await the governor of Yedo's permission to grant your wish; you are at liberty to join Tchouya."

The two friends conversed a while undisturbed; then Sibata produced a jug of *sakee*, which he had brought that they might drink it together, and as they did so they bade each other a last farewell.

Both wept. Tchouya earnestly thanked Sibata for coming to see him once more. Sibata then said, "Our body in this world resembles the magnificent flower *asagawa*, that, blossoming at peep of dawn, fades and dies as soon as the sun has risen, or the ephemeral *kogero*" (an insect). "But after death we shall be in a better world, where we may uninterruptedly enjoy each other's society." Having thus spoken, he rose, left Tchouya, and thanked the superintending officer for his indulgence.

All the prisoners were then fastened to separate crosses, and the executioners brandished their fatal pikes. Tchouya was the first despatched, by ripping open his body with two cuts in the form of a cross. The others were then successively executed, Tchouya's wife dying with the constancy promised by her previous conduct.

It may be here observed, that the difference between this execution and those described in the last chapter tends to confirm the conjecture we there hazarded, that the manner is not absolutely fixed, but depends much upon the will of the judge. The accounts given by different writers are to be taken rather as what they have seen than as what is immutably prescribed by law. The mode here practised of putting Tchouya to death does not affect what was there said of the *hara-kiri*, the essence of which is its being suicidal, or the proper act of the sufferer himself. Upon the present occasion it was merely a substitute for decapitation. But our story is not yet finished.

When this judicial massacre was over, Sibata presented his two swords, which were of great value, to the official superintendent, with these words: "To you I am indebted for my parting conversation with my lost friend; and I now request you to denounce me to the *ziogoon*, that I may suffer like Tchouya." "The gods forbid that I should act thus!" rejoined the officer addressed. "You deserve a better fate than

to die like him ; you, who, while all his other friends were consulting their safety by lurking in concealment, came boldly forward to embrace him."

As the name of Sibata-Zabrobi does not again occur in the Annals, it may be hoped that this fearless and faithful friend was suffered to return safely to his distant home. But the fate of another of the suspected conspirators is still to be told, and the manner of his escape strikingly exemplifies one of the loftiest characteristics of the nation—their self-immolating fidelity.

The burning of 'Tchouya's papers had destroyed all proof, if any had existed in them, of Yori-nobou's participation in the conspiracy ; but circumstances were strong against him. His palace was searched, but nothing was found that could decidedly inculcate him ; and now his secretary, Karmofeyemon, came forward and declared that he, and he only in the prince's establishment, had been cognizant of the plot, confirming his assertion by ripping himself open on the spot. The result of this act was, that Yori-nobou, although still suspected, remained unmolested at Yedo ; and that a prince suspected of treason was allowed so to remain, shows how modified and bound by law is even Japanese despotism. Some generations afterward, Yosimoum, a descendant of Yori-nobou's, becoming *ziogoon*, evinced the gratitude of the famil for the preservation of their ancestor by raising the posterity of Karmofeyemon to some of the highest honours of the state, and rendering them hereditary in his race.

The next anecdote, taken from the same source, will show both that the women share in this stern contempt for life, whether their own or that of another, when they conceive that duty or the public interest requires the sacrifice ; and that, if a *ziogoon* possesses despotic power, there is little disposition to let him exercise it arbitrarily.

Early in the eighteenth century, the *Ziogoc*

Tsouna-yosi, a profligate prince, who by his vices had destroyed his constitution, accidentally lost his only son, and the dignity of *ziogoon* having never descended to a daughter, resolved to adopt an heir. This is the uniform practice in Japan with the childless, whether sovereign or subject; but the established rule is to select for adoption the son of a brother or some other near relation; in direct contravention of which, Tsouna-yosi, disregarding the claims of his nephew, fixed his choice upon an alien to his blood, the son of a mere favourite of inferior birth.

The prime minister, Ino-Kamon-no-Kami, remonstrated, alleging that a step so unprecedented would exasperate not only the princes of the blood, but all the other princes of the empire. His representations, however, proved unavailing against the favourite's influence, and he thereupon sought the empress or *midia*. To her the minister revealed his master's illegal and dangerous design; explained the probability, if not certainty, that a general insurrection would be its immediate consequence; and declared that, unless she could avert it, the adoption, with its fearful results, was inevitable. The *midia* (a daughter of the reigning *mikado*, and high-minded, as became her birth and station) meditated profoundly for some minutes; then raising her head, she bade the alarmed minister be of good cheer, for she had devised effectual means of prevention. But what these were she positively refused to tell him.

Upon the day preceding that appointed for the adoption of the imperial heir, the daughter of the "*Son of Heaven*," who had long been wholly neglected by her libertine husband, invited him to take *sakee* with her; and upon his consenting, she prepared a sumptuous entertainment. While he was drinking she retired for a moment to her private apartment, wrote and despatched a note of instruc

tions to Ino-Kamon, and then, placing in her girdle the ornamented dagger worn by women of exalted rank, she returned to the banqueting-room. Shortly afterward, she announced her wish for a private conversation with the *ziogoon*, and dismissed her attendants.

The Japanese annalist relates, that when they were alone, the princess earnestly implored her consort to grant the request she was about to prefer to him. He refused to pledge his word until he should know what she desired; and she then said "I am assured that you purpose adopting the son of Dewano-Kami as your heir. Such a step, my most dear and honoured lord, must grievously offend all those princes whose claims would thus be superseded; it would unavoidably provoke a general insurrection, and occasion the destruction of the empire. My prayer therefore is, that you will renounce so ruinous a design."

The *ziogoon*, incensed at such feminine interference with his projects, indignantly replied, "How darest thou, a mere woman, speak upon state affairs? The empire is mine, to rule at my pleasure. I need no female counsel, and never will I see or speak to thee more!" With these words he arose, and was leaving the apartment in a rage.

The *midia* followed, and, detaining him by his sleeve, persisted in her suit with humble urgency: "Yet bethink you, my sovereign lord. Reflect, I implore you, that should you execute this baneful resolution, the morrow's sun may see all Japan in rebellion."

The *ziogoon* remained inflexible; the expostulations of his spouse, gentle and submissive as they were, served only to exasperate his resentment. The princess, finding argument and solicitation both equally fruitless, and despairing of otherwise averting the impending disaster, suddenly plunged her dagger into his breast, and, withdrawing it, repeated

the blow. Her aim was true; the monarch fell, and his consort, falling on her knees by his side, implored his pardon for having, in an emergency so extreme, employed the only possible means left for securing the throne to the Gongen dynasty. She concluded with an assurance that she dreamed not of surviving him; and the moment the *ziogoon* had breathed his last, she stabbed herself with the same dagger, and sank lifeless upon his corpse. Her ladies, hearing the noise of her fall, ran in, and found both weltering in their blood.

At this moment appeared Ino-Kamon, who, startled by the purport of the empress's billet, had flown to the palace. He was instantly admitted to the chamber of death, and stood confounded at the fearful spectacle it presented. After a while, recovering himself, he exclaimed, "Lo! a woman has saved the empire! But for her bold deed, Japan would to-morrow have been convulsed, perhaps destroyed!"

The self-slain princess had not, it seems, thought it sufficient thus effectually to prevent the *ziogoon* from executing his illegal design; she had farther given Ino-Kamon, in her note, precise instructions as to the course he was to pursue. By obeying them the minister secured the accession of the lawful heir; and to alleviate the disappointment of the youth whom 'Tsouna-yosi had intended to adopt, he obtained a principality for him from Yeye-nobou, the monarch he had been intended to supplant. Ino-Kamon's own services were generously recompensed by the new *ziogoon*, who rendered the office of governor of the empire hereditary in his family; and the *midia* whose heroic self-devotion we have here recorded is said to divide the admiration of Japan with the wife of Tchouya.

One other anecdote, supplied by Ogilby, farther illustrates the high spirit of the Japanese women, and the confidence which their husbands may well re-

pose in them. In the year 1646, a nobleman of Firato, named Jacatai, was under the necessity of leaving home soon after his marriage, and repairing to Miyako upon business. His newly-wedded wife was left behind at Saccai; and a nobleman, whose addresses she had rejected in favour of Jacatai, taking advantage of his successful rival's absence, came with a troop of servants whose numbers rendered resistance fruitless, and by downright violence effected his base and villanous purpose. She instantly determined to have ample revenge for this outrage; but that it might be the more complete, resolved to defer it until her husband's return, inducing the offender, at the same time, by artful promises, to prolong his stay at Saccai.

On the day announced by Jacatai for his return, she prepared a splendid entertainment to welcome him, to which she invited not only all their own relatives and friends, but likewise the guilty lover and his friends. The banquet was spread upon the housetop; and there, in the midst of the festivity, the deeply-wronged wife suddenly arose, stated that there was then in Saccai a woman who had been subjected to the last indignity her sex could suffer, and demanded what punishment that woman deserved. The whole company with one voice declared that the man who could perpetrate an act of such unparalleled baseness deserved death, not the unfortunate victim of his crime. The lady then said, "I am the woman, and there sits the man to whom I owe my dishonour. I pray you take my life, that the shame of having suffered so infamous a wrong may not stain other and happier women; that one degraded as I am may not be found among living men!"

All present strenuously protested against such an idea, and her husband assured her of his continued affection. But her high sense of purity was not to be thus satisfied; and she exclaimed, "Will no one punish my dishonour? Then must I do it myself

and only pray and enjoin you to avenge me!" With these words she flung herself headlong from the housetop, and instantly perished.

Swords were now drawn to obey her last injunction, by avenging her disgrace and death. But many of her friends were completely paralyzed by her sudden act; and the guilty lover, surrounded by his own, effected his escape from the roof of the house into the street. It was not, however, to avoid their vengeance; for he instantly slew himself upon the body of his dying victim, and was found by his pursuers dead with her whom he had irreparably wronged, but would not survive.

We will now relate a few anecdotes of a less painful nature, illustrative of the lighter qualities of the Japanese character. The following will show that, if an implacably vindictive spirit, over which time can exert no softening influence, be part of that character, it is not, at least, excited by petty provocations; it exhibits, also, the good-humour and love of drollery which mingle so oddly with the national ferocity and passion for ceremony.

About the middle of the last century,* Fota-sagami-no-Kami, a man of high reputation for learning and talent, was advanced to a distinguished post in the council of state by the young *ziogoon*, Yee-sige, upon his accession. In the discharge of the public business Fota-sagami fulfilled all the expectations to which his reputed ability had given birth; but he provoked great, if not extensive, animosity by the inexorable severity with which he treated the officers of the old *ziogoon*, who had abdicated, depriving them of the rewards their former master had bestowed upon them for their services.

The individuals thus treated, having vainly petitioned for redress, meditated revenge, but determined first to make an effort for the recovery of their

* 'Titsingh.

lost wealth by intimidation. In pursuance of this scheme, a pumpkin, carved into the form of a human head, appeared one morning over the state councillor's door, with the following inscription attached to it : "This is the head of Fota-sagami-no-Kami, cut off and set up here in recompense of his cruelty."

Fota-sagami's servants were enraged at the insult offered their master, but yet more terrified at the idea of the fury they anticipated it would awaken in him, and which they feared might in some measure fall upon themselves, as though their negligence had given the opportunity for so daring an insult. Pale and trembling they presented themselves before him, and reported the ominous apparition of the pumpkin-head, with its dreadful inscription. The effect, happily, was far different from what they had expected. Fota-sagami's fancy was so tickled at hearing, while full of life and health, that his head was announced to be actually cut off and set up over his own door, that he laughed heartily at the joke ; and, upon joining his colleagues in the council-chamber, he related with great glee his vicarious decapitation in the person of a pumpkin. There likewise the circumstance excited bursts of laughter, amid which, however, unbounded admiration was expressed of Fota-sagami-no-Kami's imperturbable equanimity and fortitude. Whether the jesters were permitted again to enjoy the rewards assigned them by the *ex-ziogoon* does not appear.

Another incident of the same reign, at a later date, exhibits a Japanese view of good breeding, and a singular mode of testing talent and character.* Oka-yetchezen-no-Kami, one of the governors of Yedo, was directed to seek out able men for the service of the *ziogoon*, and, among others, a skilful accountant. A person named Noda-bounso was recommended to him as an admirable arithmetician, and in every re-

* Titsingh.

spect well fitted for the office. Oka-yetchezen sent for Noda-bounso, and when the master of the science of numbers presented himself, gravely asked him for the quotient of 100 divided by 2. The candidate for place as gravely took out his tablets, deliberately worked out the sum, and then answered, 50. "I now see that you are a man of discretion as well as an arithmetician," said the governor of Yedo, "and in every way fitted for the post you seek. Had you answered me offhand, I should have conceived a bad opinion of your breeding. Such men as you it is that the *ziogoon* wants, and the place is yours."

Yee-sige did indeed want men of discretion about him, to supply his own deficiency; for he had by this time so completely destroyed his intellectual faculties by excesses of various kinds as to reduce himself to idiocy. To have plainly stated the fact, however, or to have applied to the monarch the appellation expressive of his mental imbecility, would have been treason. The ingenuity of his subjects devised means of guiltlessly intimating his condition, by giving him the name of an herb that is said to cause temporary insanity, and Yee-sige was surnamed *Ampontan*.

An instance of the quick talent and shrewdness evinced by the least educated portion of the community, akin to this sort of wit, occurs in the history of the transactions at Dezima during Heer Doeff's long presidentship; but upon the occasion in question these qualities were directed towards a more useful purpose than nicknaming a sovereign. An American vessel had been chartered by the Dutch at Batavia to carry on their trade with Japan, the English cruisers rendering the service too hazardous for their own ships or for any but neutrals, and in setting sail in the night, laden with her return cargo of copper and camphor, she struck upon a rock, filled, and sank. The crew got on shore in their boats; and the problem that engrossed the attention alike

of the American captain, the Dutch factory, and the constituted authorities at Nagasaki, was how to raise the vessel.

“The first idea* was to employ Japanese divers to fetch up the copper; but the water had melted the camphor, and the suffocating effluvia thus disengaged cost two of these divers their lives. The attempt to lighten her was therefore necessarily abandoned; and every effort to raise her without unloading proving equally vain, a simple fisherman, named Kiyemon, of the principality of Fizen, came forward and promised to effect it, provided his expenses merely were defrayed; stating, at the same time, that if he failed he should expect nothing. People laughed at the man, who never before, perhaps, had seen a ship of European construction; but he was not to be diverted from his purpose. He fastened to either side of the sunken vessel fifteen, or, as is stated by some, seventeen boats, such as are employed to tow in our ships, and connected them with each other by props and stays. Then, when a spring-tide favoured him, he came himself in a Japanese coasting craft, which he attached in a similar way to the stern of the ship, and at the moment the tide had attained its greatest height, set every sail on board all the boats. Up rose the heavy-laden merchantman, cleared herself from the rock, and was towed by the fisherman to a position on the shore where she could be conveniently discharged and repaired. Kiyemon not only had his expenses made good to him, but the Prince of Fizen gave him permission to wear two swords, and to bear as his arms a Dutch hat and two tobacco-pipes!”

Without making any comment either upon the extraordinary coat-of-arms assigned to the fisherman, or the yet more extraordinary want of liberality evinced in rewarding him for his successful efforts

(no hint being given that either the American captain or the Dutch president made him any pecuniary compensation), it may be observed, that the permission here given to wear two swords is a sufficient proof that the line of demarcation between the different classes of society is not absolutely impassable.

Another Japanese fisherman displayed his ingenuity in a less honourable and useful form than Kiye-mon, to make money out of his countrymen's passion for whatever is odd and strange.* He contrived to unite the upper half of a monkey to the lower half of a fish, so neatly as to defy ordinary inspection. He then gave out that he had caught the creature alive in his net, but that it had died shortly after being taken out of the water ; and he derived considerable pecuniary profit from his device in more ways than one. The exhibition of the sea-monster to Japanese curiosity paid well ; but yet more productive was the assertion that the half-human fish had spoken during the few minutes it existed out of its native element, predicting a certain number of years of wonderful fertility, to be followed by a fatal epidemic, the only remedy against which would be possession of the marine prophet's likeness. The sale of these pictured mermaids was immense. Either this composite animal, or another, the offspring of the success of the first, was sold to the Dutch factory and transmitted to Batavia, where it fell into the hands of a shrewd American, who brought it to Europe, and there, in the years 1822-3, exhibited his purchase as a real mermaid at every capital, to the admiration of the ignorant, the perplexity of the learned, and the filling of his own purse.

The following particulars, related in the Japanese Annals, afford gratifying evidence of the care with which justice is administered by the delegated representatives of the council of state ; though that care,

* Fischer.

it must be confessed, savours not a little of despotic power throughout the entire transaction. The mode of trial alone renders the story deserving of notice, as it shows the adroitness of the Japanese tribunals in eliciting truth. The circumstances occurred at Ohosaka.

A usurer,* named Tomoya-Kiougero, lost a sum of money amounting to 500 *kobans* (upward of \$3000). As no stranger had been seen about his premises, suspicion fell upon his servants, and, after considerable investigation, finally settled upon one of them named Tchoudyets. No proof, however, was found; and the man, in spite of cross-questioning, menaces, and cajolery, positively denied the crime imputed to him. Tomoya now repaired to the governor of Ohosaka, preferred his complaint, and demanded that Tchoudyets should be tried and punished. The governor, Matsoura-Kavatche-no-Kami, who had been promoted to his post in consequence of his reputation for ability, wisdom, and virtue, sent for Tchoudyets and examined him. The accused protested his innocence, and declared that torture itself should never compel him to confess a crime of which he was not guilty. Matsoura-Kavatche now committed Tchoudyets to prison, sent for Tomoya and his other servants, told them the result of his inquiries, and asked what proof they had of the prisoner's guilt. They could produce none, but still persisted in the declaration that Tchoudyets was the thief, and Tomoya insisted upon his immediate execution. The governor inquired if they would set their hands to their belief of his guilt and their demand for his execution. They signified their willingness to do so; and both master and men, together with the relatives of the former, signed a paper to the following effect: "Tchoudyets, servant to Tomoya-Kiougero, has robbed his master of 500

kobans. This we attest by these presents, and demand that he be punished with death as a warning to others. We, the kinsmen and servants of Tomoya-Kiougero, in confirmation of this, affix to it our signatures and seals. The second month of the first year Genboun (1736)." The governor, taking the paper, said to the complainant, "Now that I am relieved from all responsibility, I will order the head of Tchoudyets to be taken off. Are you satisfied?" Tomoya replied that he was, returned his thanks, and withdrew with his party.

Soon afterward a robber, who was taken up for a different offence and put to the torture, confessed, among other crimes, the theft of Tomoya's money. This discovery was communicated to Matsoura-Kavatche, who immediately sent for Tomoya, his relatives, and servants, laid before them the true thief's confession, and thus addressed them: "Behold! you accused Tchoudyets without proof, attesting your charge under your own hands and seals. Upon the strength of your assertion I have commanded the death of an innocent man. In expiation of this crime, you, your wife, kindred, and servants, must all lose your heads; and I, for not having investigated the business with sufficient care, shall rip myself up." At these dreadful words Tomoya and his friends were overwhelmed with despair. They wept, bemoaned their sad fate, and implored mercy, while the magistrates and officers present united in praying for some mitigation of so terrible a sentence. But the governor remained inflexible.

When this scene of agony had lasted a considerable time, Matsoura-Kavatche suffered his features to relax into a milder expression, and said, "Be comforted: Tchoudyets lives. His answers convinced me of his innocence, and I have kept him concealed in the hope that the truth would come to light." He then ordered Tchoudyets to be brought in, and proceeded thus: "Tomoya, your false accusation has

caused this innocent man to suffer imprisonment, and nearly cost him his life. As this last misfortune has been happily averted, your lives shall be spared; but, as some compensation for what he has undergone, you shall give him 500 *kobans*, and treat him henceforth as a faithful servant. Let the pangs you have this day experienced be engraven on all your minds, as a warning how you again bring forward accusations upon insufficient grounds."

This decision of Matsoura-Kavatche gave universal satisfaction, and, in testimony of the *ziogoon's* approbation, he was soon afterward promoted to the more important and lucrative government of Nagasaki.

CHAPTER X.

ATTEMPTS OF FOREIGNERS TO OPEN RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.

Hospitality towards Foreign Ships in the 18th Century.—American Attempts to open Intercourse.—Captain Stewart's Disasters and Schemes.—Baffled.—Shipwrecked Japanese sent from Macao.—Not Suffered to Land.—Russian Attempts.—Count Resanoff's Embassy.—Difficulties about Forms.—About Landing and Residence.—Audience.—Overtures Rejected.—Difficulties about Presents.—Resanoff's Resentment.—Hostile Invasion.—Consequent Degradation of the Prince of Matsmai.—Golownin's Expedition.—His Capture.—Odd Treatment.—Kindness of Japanese after his Evasion.—Release.—English Attempts.—Sir Stamford Raffles's Pacific Mission.—Foiled by Dutch President.—Present Precautions.

AFTER Christianity had been finally extirpated throughout Japan, and the remnant of trade with Europe committed to the Dutch factory at Dezima, the seclusion of the insular empire was long re-

spected and left undisturbed by other nations. The slight attempt made by the English under Charles II., which the Dutch foiled by proclaiming the English queen to be a Portuguese princess, can hardly be called an exception.

This abstinence from all attempts to infringe upon or to alter the prohibitory laws of Japan, allowed the strong feelings in which they originated to die away; and towards the close of the last century, the continuance of the system appears to have proceeded rather from indifference to foreign trade and respect for existing customs than from hatred or fear. While the public mind of Japan remained in this tranquil state, although no trade, no unnecessary intercourse with foreigners was permitted, foreign ships, in distress for provisions or other necessities, were freely suffered to approach the coast, and their wants were cheerfully relieved. Capt Broughton, when exploring the Japanese seas in the years 1795', 6', 7, was perhaps the last English sailor who thus benefited by the unsuspecting hospitality of the Japanese. Since that period attempts have been made and accidents have occurred, the effect of which has been, as represented by the Dutch, to revive, in all its original inveteracy, their antipathy to foreigners. Siebold, however, rather questions this, and thinks that, if their animosity was from any cause revived, it has again subsided.

The first aggression upon the restrictive policy of the Japanese was made by the Americans, and originated in the war between England and Holland, during the subjection of the latter to France. It has been already intimated* that the Dutch authorities at Batavia, when they durst no longer expose their own merchantmen to capture by British cruisers in the Indian seas, engaged neutrals to carry on their trade with Japan. The first American ship

* See Chapter IX.

thus hired was the *Eliza*, of New-York, Capt. Stewart, in 1797; and her appearance at once aroused the suspicions of the Japanese.*

A vessel bearing the Dutch flag, but of which the crew spoke English, not Dutch, was an anomaly that struck the Nagasaki authorities with consternation. It cost the president of the factory some trouble to convince the governor of Nagasaki that these English were not the real English, but a sort of English living in a different country and governed by different laws. All this, however, even when believed, was of no avail; the main point being to prove that the Americans had nothing to do with the trade, and that they were only employed by the Dutch as carriers on account of the war. The governor was at length satisfied that the American was no interloper, the employment of neutrals being, under existing circumstances, unavoidable; and he consented to consider the *Eliza* as a Dutch ship.

Upon his second voyage the following year, Capt. Stewart met with the accident mentioned in the last chapter; and it seems not unlikely that his increased intercourse with the Japanese during the attempt to raise his ship, and afterward while she was under repairs, gave birth to his idea of establishing commercial relations with them independent of his employers the Dutch. Neither his scheme nor his measures, however, very distinctly appear in Heer Doeff's narrative, either because the Dutch president was perplexed by his eagerness to identify them with English encroachment, or because the foiling of Capt. Stewart's plan prevented its full development.

When repaired and reloaded, the *Eliza* again sailed, but was dismasted in a storm, and returned to refit. All this occasioned such delay, that the American substitute for the Dutch ship of 1799 had not

* Doeff.

only arrived, but had nearly completed her loading for Batavia, when Capt. Stewart was at length ready to prosecute the voyage that should have been completed the preceding year. For his consort he obstinately refused to wait, and sailed early in November, 1799. The following year he again made his appearance, but in a different vessel and under a different character. He had not reached Batavia, and told a piteous story of having been shipwrecked, with the loss of all his own property, as well as of his entire cargo, concluding with his having been kindly enabled by a friend at Manilla to buy and freight the brig in which he had now come for the purpose of discharging, by the sale of the goods she had on board, belonging entirely to himself, his debt to the Dutch factory incurred by the repairs of the *Eliza*.

But in the interval an able and energetic president had succeeded to a very inefficient one. Heer Wardenaar saw in this visit of the American an attempt to gain a commercial footing for himself, if not for his country, at Nagasaki; and his suspicions of the truth of Capt. Stewart's story were farther excited and strengthened by the recognition in the Manilla brig of some articles that had belonged to the *Eliza*, from the wreck of which it was averred that nothing whatever had been saved. He took his measures accordingly. He caused Capt. Stewart's goods to be sold in the usual manner, and his debts to be paid from the proceeds; but he procured no return freight for the brig, and sent the captain in the Dutch ships of that year to Batavia, to be there tried for the loss of the *Eliza's* cargo.

Pending the investigation of his conduct at Batavia, Capt. Stewart made his escape from that place, and for a year or two was not heard of. But in 1803 he again appeared in Nagasaki Bay, at this time more openly declaring his purpose. He now presented himself under the American flag, brought a cargo, avowedly American property, from Bengal and Can-

ton, and solicited permission to trade, as also to supply himself with fresh water and with oil. The first request was positively refused, the second granted; and when his wants had been gratuitously supplied, he was compelled to depart. Capt. Stewart now gave up his scheme as hopeless, and returned no more. The only American ship subsequently mentioned is one in 1807, which, professedly in distress on her voyage between Canton and the western coast of America, applied for wood and water, with which, at Heer Doeff's solicitation, she was supplied, and, as Capt. Stewart had been, gratuitously. Whether she was really in distress, or under this pretence seeking to open a trade, the factory did not ascertain.

One very recent attempt of a mixed commercial and missionary character has, however, been made by American merchants from Macao. A vessel with an American missionary on board, and that able Oriental linguist, the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, sailed from Macao in July, 1837, professedly to carry home some shipwrecked Japanese sailors. She steered for the Bay of Yedo, where not even the barks belonging to the Japanese dependencies are admitted, and after a short intercourse with native boats, which the missionaries thought of a promising character, the ship was fired upon. She made her escape to sea, and next anchored in the Bay of Kago-sima, in the principality of Satzuma, where she experienced a repulse precisely similar. And now, indignant at what Dr. Parker, the missionary on board, calls in his Narrative the treachery of the Japanese, the adventurers determined to return to Macao without visiting the only port—to wit, Nagasaki—where they had any chance of being permitted even to land their Japanese mariners. Whether this mistake as to the proper port arose from ignorance, or whether they did not choose to visit Nagasaki from attributing to Dutch intrigue the uniform repulse of their predecessors,

does not appear. The shipwrecked Japanese accompanied them back to Macao.

The next foreign attempts to be noticed were made by the Russians, and it almost looks as though they had at one time a chance of success. But if it were so, the opportunity was not skilfully seized, and it fled never to return.

During the reign of Catharine II. a Japanese vessel was wrecked on the coast of Siberia, and the empress ordered such of the crew as had been saved to be conveyed home. A Russian ship accordingly landed the rescued seamen at Matsmai in 1792, and the captain, Adam Laxmann, made overtures respecting trade. He was formally thanked for bringing home the shipwrecked mariners, and permitted to repair to Nagasaki, there to negotiate with the proper authorities in regard to his commercial proposals. He was farther informed that at Nagasaki alone were foreigners admitted, and that, if the Russians ever again landed elsewhere, even to bring home shipwrecked Japanese, they would be made prisoners.

Capt. Laxmann did not go to Nagasaki, and the attention of the empress being probably withdrawn from so small a matter as trade with Japan by the engrossing character of European politics at that moment, the opening thus presented was neglected. It should be stated, however, that Dr. Von Siebold doubts there having been any real intention on the part of the Japanese to negotiate with the Russians. He ascribes the intimation to the latter, that their overtures for trade might be entertained at Nagasaki, to the consciousness of the Prince of Matsmai, or, rather, of his secretary, that his capital was in no condition to sustain a conflict with a man-of-war, and his consequent anxiety to rid himself amicably of his Russian visiter.

In 1804 exertions were made to repair this neglect. A Russian man-of-war appeared in the Bay

of Nagasaki, having on board Count Resanoff, who had been appointed ambassador from the Czar to the *ziogoon*, with power to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce between Russia and Japan. The count brought with him recommendations from the Dutch government to the president of the factory, who had previously received advices upon the subject of the embassy from the authorities at Batavia. These Heer Doeff had communicated to the governor of Nagasaki, so that he was not altogether unprepared for the ambassador's arrival.

It was on the 7th of October* that the Russian vessel was reported to be off the mouth of the bay. The usual deputation was sent out to visit her, and to receive her armament on deposit; and upon this occasion, in compliment to the ambassador, the president of the factory was requested to accompany the deputation in person. At this first meeting difficulties between the Russian and Japanese dignitaries arose. The latter, regarding themselves as the representatives of the *ziogoon*, required, as usual, that the marks of respect due to his person should be paid to themselves; while the ambassador deemed it inconsistent with both his individual and official rank to humble himself before the deputies of a provincial governor.† Another difficulty took place in relation to the arms, which Resanoff positively refused to surrender; this dispute turning, like the former, upon the point of honour, not of safety, as he readily suffered the ammunition to be landed and held by the Japanese.

President Doeff avers that it was solely owing to his good offices and his personal influence with the governor that the ship, thus imperfectly disarmed, was permitted to enter the harbour and take up a secure anchorage to await an answer from Yedo, not as to the opening of negotiations, but as to the

* Doeff.

† See Note XVI.

disputed ceremonial. The first evening the Dutch were allowed to spend cheerfully with their European visitors. But the next day a suspicion seems to have arisen of some possible understanding between the two sets of foreigners, without considering that their interests were manifestly opposed: and, notwithstanding the early notice which the Dutch had given of the intended intrusion of the Russians, they were never again allowed to hold any direct intercourse with them: they contrived, however, to correspond in French, through the medium of the interpreters, always ready, apparently, to favour the violation of their rigid code of laws; and wherever laws are excessively severe, they are usually evaded in this way.

The jealousy of the Japanese was carried so far, that the annual ship, this year really Dutch, and then in course of loading, was removed from her customary berth to a distant station, and when she set sail the captain and crew were not allowed to return the parting greetings of the Russians. The Dutch captain durst only wave his hat in reply; and this apparent want of politeness seems to have given great offence to the courteous Muscovites, who imputed it to mercantile ill-will.

Meanwhile, the Russian ambassador earnestly solicited permission to land; and Capt. Krusenstern, the commander of the ship, no less earnestly petitioned for leave to repair his vessel. Both these requests, being contrary to law, required a reference to Yedo. But Nagasaki now witnessed an unprecedented phenomenon, the simultaneous presence of the two governors of the place; the relief governor having arrived, and the relieved governor fearing to depart at so critical a conjuncture. In the mean time, while awaiting orders from Yedo, the two colleagues deliberated together. They inquired whether the Dutch factory could accommodate the embassy at Dezima, which Doeff, though straitened

for room in consequence of a recent fire, agreed to do; but the proposal was not repeated; and the governors next talked of giving the Russians the use of a temple. This idea was likewise abandoned; and, finally, a fish warehouse opposite Dezima, but at the farther extremity of Nagasaki, was selected for the residence of the embassy. It was accordingly cleared out, cleaned, and prepared for their reception, by enclosing it with palisades to prevent external communication. These preliminary arrangements having been completed, about the middle of December Count Resanoff, with his suite, was formally installed in this strange *hotel d'ambassade*, where the Russian soldiers mounted guard with unloaded muskets. It is said that the court of Yedo decidedly disapproved of this ungentlemanly treatment of the European embassy in minor points. A former *ziogoon* had indeed gone so far as to behead the members of a Portuguese embassy, leaving barely survivors enough to carry home the report of their reception, but he had not degraded or insulted them.

All these delays, difficulties, and annoyances, which Heer Doeff ascribes to Resanoff's refusal to give up his guns and submit to the *kotoo*, were imputed by the Russians to Dutch influence and misrepresentation. This question, however, needs but little consideration: of course, the Dutch did not wish the Russian mission to succeed, but underhand efforts were scarcely necessary to ensure its failure. Nevertheless, the affair was deemed important even at Yedo, as this is said to have been one of the very few occasions upon which the *ziogoon** consulted the *mikado*, probably wishing for his sanction of a refusal that might possibly lead to a war.

Towards the end of March, a commissioner, who appears to have been a spy of the higher grade, ar

* Fischer.

rived from Yedo with the answer of the *ziogoon*, and the Russian ambassador was invited to an audience to hear it read. The governor requested the Dutch president to lend his own *norimono* for the conveyance of the ambassador from his lodgings to the government-house. The rest of the preparations were directed solely towards preventing the European intruder from acquiring any knowledge of Nagasaki or its inhabitants. The window-shutters of all the houses in the streets through which he was to pass were ordered to be closed; the ends of all the avenues opening into such streets to be boarded up; and every inhabitant, not called by official duty to be present in the procession or at the audience, was commanded to remain at home.

A pleasure-boat of the Prince of Fizen conveyed the Russian embassy across the bay to the landing-place, where the Dutch president's *norimono* awaited the ambassador: a solitary compliment, as his whole suite followed on foot. The next day a second audience was granted, and, in consequence of a heavy rain, *cagos* were provided for the Russian officers. The answer now given was a decided refusal, and Heer Doeff was requested to assist the interpreters in translating the official Japanese document into Dutch. He observed that the Russians probably did not understand this language, and proposed to make a French version. But the Japanese, not understanding French, could not know whether a translation into that language was correct: a point far more important in their estimation than so trifling a matter as the answer being intelligible to those to whom it was addressed.

But, though the object of the negotiation was thus peremptorily refused, the negotiation itself was not yet over. The *ziogoon* had rejected the presents sent him by the Czar, whereupon Count Resanoff very naturally declined accepting the Japanese presents offered to himself. This was a point of vital

importance, however, to the governor of Nagasaki individually; he had been ordered to make the ambassador receive these presents, and his failing to do so would have left him no alternative; he could have done nothing less than destroy himself, and a reasonable proportion of his subordinate officers must have followed his example. By dint of entreaty, the interpreters, who had by this time picked up a little Russian, at length prevailed upon Resanoff to accept something; and, indeed, if they made known to him the inevitable consequences of a peremptory refusal, it is scarcely to be conceived how he could do otherwise.

The Japanese, according to their custom in all cases where they reject the overtures made to them by a foreign state, defrayed the expenses of the Russians at Nagasaki, and gratuitously supplied the ship with necessaries on her departure. The bitter accusations exchanged between the baffled Russian diplomatist and the Dutch *opperhoofd* are irrelevant to our object; and the more so, perhaps, as Resanoff did not live to hear Doeff's charges against him, or even to give an account of his mission. But short as was the remainder of his life, it allowed him time to carry into effect such measures for the gratification of his resentment at his treatment at Nagasaki as could not fail to exclude his countrymen for a long time, if not permanently, from all friendly intercourse with Japan.

Instigated by revenge, he appears to have resolved upon making the Japanese feel the wrath of Russia. For this purpose, during his stay in Kamtschatka, he directed two officers of the Russian navy, named Chwostoff and Davidoff, then commanding merchant-vessels trading between the eastern coast of the Russian dominions in Asia and the western coast of North America, to effect a hostile landing upon the most northern of the Japanese islands or their dependencies.

It must here be noticed, that before this period the Russians had gradually possessed themselves of the northern Kurile islands, the whole Kurile archipelago, northern and southern, having for centuries been esteemed a dependency of the Japanese empire, and more immediately of the Prince of Matsmai. Whether this loss of a few distant islands, in a rude and savage state, was even known at Yedo, the Dutch factory, of course, were ignorant; and it seems not unlikely that the prince and his secretary-masters, if they could secure themselves against spies, would seek to conceal a disaster rather disgraceful to themselves than otherwise important.

It was upon Sagalien, one of the southern Kuriles, still in possession of the Japanese, that Chwostoff and Davidoff, in obedience to Resanoff's orders, landed in the year 1806. This being the most unguarded part of the empire, they were able, unopposed, to plunder several villages, commit great ravages, and carry off many of the natives. On re-embarking, they left behind them papers in the Russian and French languages, announcing that this had been done to teach the Japanese the power of Russia, and to show them the folly of which they had been guilty in rejecting Count Resanoff's friendly overtures.

The Japanese government, provincial and supreme, was utterly confounded at these proceedings. The governor of Nagasaki, evidently by orders from the court, repeatedly asked the Dutch president's opinion of their object; and the French papers were sent to the factory, with a request that Heer Doeff would translate them. Some of the interpreters had gained sufficient knowledge of the Russian during the six months' detention of the embassy to make a sort of translation of the copy in that language; and thus, by comparing the two versions, the council of state might be enabled to judge of the fidelity, as to its letter and spirit, of Heer Doeff's.

The only immediate results of this really wanton

outrage were the degradation of the Prince of Matsmai, who was judged incapable of protecting his subjects or defending his dominions, and the conversion of his principality into an imperial province ; so that thenceforth Matsmai, with its dependencies of Yezo and the Kuriles, was committed to an imperial governor.

Four years later, Capt. Golownin was sent in a frigate to explore the Japanese seas, and especially that portion of the Kurile archipelago still belonging to Japan. In the course of his voyage, from its nature so likely to give offence to the Japanese, some of Golownin's crew indiscreetly landed upon the Kurile islands Eeterpoo, or, according to Siebold's orthography, Jetorop, near a fortress, and were in danger of being taken ; but Golownin persuaded the commandant that the hostile incursion of Chwostoff and Davidoff had been a sheer act of piracy on their part, for which they had been punished (they had, it is true, been imprisoned, but were suffered to escape, and, as far as appears, were not dismissed the service), and that he himself had only approached the coast on account of his being in want of wood and water. A Kurile who spoke Russ, and a Japanese who spoke the Kurile tongue, afforded the means of carrying on conversation. The Japanese officer was satisfied, treated Golownin hospitably, and gave him a letter to the commandant of another Jetorop fortress, where, the anchorage being safer, wood and water could be more conveniently shipped.

The Russian commander made no use of this friendly introduction, but continued for weeks to sail about among the islands, carefully examining them according to his instructions. When at length the wants he had prematurely alleged really pressed, he did not seek the Jetorop harbour recommended to him, but cast anchor in a bay of Kunashir, another yet more southern Kurile island. Here a similar misunderstanding took place with the com-

mandant of an adjoining fortress, but was less happily terminated. The Japanese officer merely affected to be satisfied till he had lulled Golownin into security, and then, upon his landing without his usual precautions, surprised, overpowered, and made prisoners of him, his officers, and his boat's crew.

The mixture of cruelty and kindness which marked their treatment confounded the Russians, but is easily intelligible to those who have studied understandingly the Japanese character. The first was deemed essential to their safe keeping; and any degree of severity contributing to an object held to be of so much importance would be unhesitatingly resorted to. The kindness, on the other hand, was the genuine offspring of Japanese good-nature, ever prompt to confer favours, grant indulgences, and give pleasure, even at the cost of some personal inconvenience.

Thus the Russians were tightly bound with small cords, rendering them so perfectly helpless as to make it necessary that their meat and drink should be put into their mouths, while their legs were allowed just sufficient liberty to enable them to walk. The end of each man's cord was held by a soldier; and in this state they were driven over land, or piled upon one another in boats when they were to cross the sea. Their complaints that the cords cut into their flesh were wholly disregarded; and though the wounds they made were carefully dressed every night, the cords themselves were neither removed nor slackened; but their guards, who underwent more fatigue than themselves, were always ready to carry them when tired, and seemed to grant, with pleasure, the frequent requests of the compassionate villagers of both sexes upon the road, to be permitted to give the prisoners a good meal; when the Japanese would feed them like infants, and seemed highly to enjoy the refreshment they afforded. The Russians were also assured that they were bound no more tightly than Japanese prisoners of their rank would be.

They were finally conveyed to Matsmai, and there placed in confinement. After a while a comfortable house was prepared for their accommodation, where they could be guarded with less annoyance to themselves; but the use they made of this indulgence was to attempt an escape, which led, of course, to their being again committed to the safer custody of a prison. The continued friendliness of the governor even after this attempt, which, had it succeeded, would have been his ruin (and it was several days before they were retaken), strikingly shows the genuinely kind temper of the Japanese. So also does the conduct of one of the guards, who, though degraded from a soldier to a prison servant, from his being on duty at the time of their flight, exerted himself in every possible way to procure them comforts. The chief topics of Golownin's complaints while in prison, where he and his companions were immediately unbound, are scanty food and troublesome questions; but we should probably infer no more from this than that the abstemious Japanese had no conception of Russian appetites, and that the Europeans were above answering questions which, under reversed circumstances, they would themselves have put.

The Japanese endeavoured to profit by the captivity of the Russians, both to instruct the interpreters in their language, and to acquire from them astronomical knowledge, of which they supposed naval officers were likely to possess a larger share than merchants. Among the learned men sent from Yedo for this purpose was Heer Doeff's friend, the astronomer Takahaso Sampai, who was likewise, according to the *opperhoofd*, appointed to act as joint commissioner with the governor of Matsmai. As Golownin, who calls him Teské, and speaks of him with affection, seems to have been ignorant of this branch of his mission, it may be suspected that even the philosopher upon this occasion played the part of a *metsuke* or spy.

It was nearly two years after the seizure of Golownin before such a disavowal of the outrages committed by Chwostoff and Davidoff was obtained from competent Russian authority as would satisfy the court at Yedo. When at length the matter was amicably arranged, and the prisoners allowed to re-embark in their own ship, which had been employed to carry on the negotiation between the two empires, the joy and sympathy of the Japanese friends of the Russians are described as having been truly affecting.

Upon his departure Golownin was charged with a written document, warning the Russians against farther seeking what was declared to be impossible, permission to trade with Japan. The injunction seems to have been respected, as there is no mention of any subsequent attempts at intercourse with the southern Kuriles.

The endeavours of the English to establish a trade with Japan are the next and last to be noticed. The first attempt of this kind was too slight to give offence, and requires to be but briefly mentioned. Soon after Capt. Stewart's last visit to Nagasaki, another strange vessel was reported to be off the bay. She was accordingly visited by the combined Japanese and Dutch deputation, and announced herself as a British merchantman from Calcutta, sent thither to propose opening a commercial intercourse between India and Japan. The cross was omitted in her flag, in compliment to the prejudices of the latter nation. The captain's request for leave to trade was refused, and the ship ordered away.

The next British vessel that visited Japan was the *Phaeton*. Her intrusion into the Bay of Nagasaki had, however, as has been already explained, no connexion with views of traffic; but its unfortunate results left a hatred of the English rankling in the hearts of the Japanese highly unpropitious to subsequent attempts at amicable commercial rela-

tions. Various additional measures of precaution were ordered, of which the demand of hostages from every strange vessel prior to her entering the bay, as mentioned by Siebold, was one.

The British merchants made no farther effort to trade with Japan; but in the year 1811 Batavia was attacked by an English armament, and when the Dutch governor Jansens capitulated, he did so for the island of Java and all its dependencies. One of these dependencies was undoubtedly the factory at Dezima, the president of which, as well as the inferior officers and members, had always been appointed and sent thither by the governor of Batavia, with whom he corresponded, and to whose authority he was always subject. Sir Stamford Raffles naturally considered the Dutch establishment in Japan, therefore, as part of his government, and in the year 1813 proceeded to enforce his authority in that quarter, and thus effect the transfer of the factory and trade to England. The measures he took for this purpose were the quietest possible: he despatched two ships as the annual traders, having on board a new Dutch *opperhoofd* (now British by allegiance), Heer Cassa, to relieve *Opperhoofd* Doeff, who had already held his office more than double the usual time, and likewise two commissioners, one Dutch, Heer Wardenaar, Doeff's predecessor and patron, the other English, Dr. Ainslie, to examine and settle the affairs of the factory.

To the Japanese these ships, upon being visited, appeared simply to be two more Americans hired by the Dutch; and although to the factory deputation there seemed something mysterious about them, it was not till Wardenaar landed and explained to the president and the warehouse-master that Holland was no more, the European provinces having been incorporated with France, and the foreign colonies occupied by the English, that the state of the case was understood. Neither, indeed, can it be

said to have been properly understood then, Heer Doeffer disbelieving the fact first stated, and consequently refusing to acknowledge the English authority.

The merits of the controversy between Sir Stamford Raffles and Heer Doeffer are rendered perhaps somewhat obscure by the death of the English governor, who, like the Russian ambassador, did not live to know the charges preferred against him. It is a question not to be investigated without the examination of official documents, and even then, as the discussion would be wholly irrelevant to the object of this work, it would be misplaced here. We shall therefore content ourselves with simply pointing out the improbability of Heer Doeffer's statement, that no proofs were given him of the facts alleged, either then or in the following year, though it was upon the declared want of such proofs that he grounded his refusal to submit.

Be this as it may, Heer Doeffer resolved to remain *opperhoofd*, keeping the factory Dutch, and the trade in his own hands. The animosity against the English, originating in the tragical circumstances connected with the *Phaeton*, placed power in his hands, and he used it skilfully for his own purposes. He was obliged, however, to seek the aid of the interpreters, as is required in all clandestine proceedings.

Heer Doeffer accordingly invited the five chief interpreters to Dezima, and in Wardenaar's presence communicated to them that gentleman's statements, his own disbelief of all beyond the conquest of Java by the English, and the fact that the ships then in the harbour were English. The Japanese were confounded at the idea of public vicissitudes so foreign to their own experience, and terrified at the responsibility impending over the authorities of Nagasaki, in having again been duped into allowing the intrusion of English vessels. Willingly, therefore, did they agree to the scheme by which Doeffer proposed to avert the threatened consequences. This was to

suppress the whole history of the conquest, and to state that a successor had been sent to take his place, in case the Japanese should object to the prolongation of his presidentship; but that the governor of Batavia wished, if not disagreeable to the governor of Nagasaki, to continue him yet a while as *opperhoofd*, that he might have an opportunity to profit by a few years of active trade after so many blank seasons. This being arranged, Doeff proposed to buy the cargoes brought by the ships, negotiate their sale and the purchase of return cargoes on his own account, and to sell the latter to the English commissioner.

The representations made by the president and the interpreters of the hatred entertained by the Japanese towards the English, of the disorder and bloodshed that must ensue upon revealing the real facts (evils they had not been sent there to provoke), and their having, it is probable, already surrendered their arms, in obedience to Japanese law and Dutch custom, induced Heer Cassa, the commissioners, and the captains of the vessels, to submit to Doeff's terms. The stratagem so ingeniously devised succeeded; the vessels passed for Americans in the Dutch service, Doeff remained *opperhoofd*, and to Dezima belonged the distinction of being the only place then in the world really Dutch.

Dr. Ainslie now visited Nagasaki, according to Doeff, as an American physician, and he appears, from the slight report of his mission given in Sir Stamford Raffles' Memoir, to have experienced great hospitality and kindness, and to have been highly pleased with the Japanese character, especially in regard to the treatment of females; he was also much struck with the elegant manners of the Japanese ladies. It should be stated, however, that this report conveys the impression that Dr. Ainslie passed as an Englishman. Indeed, it positively states that the Japanese spoke to him of his countrymen with

respect, expressing their conviction that the English would never act as the Russians had done ; so that one might almost suspect, had not the matter been a point of so much importance in Japanese estimation, and the consequences of the unlawful entrance of the English ships so certainly disastrous, that the whole affair had been in fact *nayboen*.

Heer Cassa again appeared at Dezima as appointed *opperhoofd* in 1814, bringing tidings of the great events of the previous year in Europe, especially of the Dutch insurrection in behalf of the House of Orange, and the consequent prospect of the immediate restoration of the Dutch colonies by England. Sir S. Raffles and Heer Cassa probably expected that this information would remove all Heer Doeff's patriotic scruples as to obeying orders from Batavia, as he had formerly done. But he still professed not to be satisfied ; and, resorting to the measures of the preceding year, enforced compliance by the same menaces he then employed. In this he was energetically aided by the interpreters, whose lives would inevitably have been forfeited had their previous deception been discovered.

This year, however, Heer Cassa was less unprepared for the conflict ; he counter-mancœuvred ; and, had he engaged no female domestics from the tea-houses, might possibly have triumphed. He gained over two of the confidential interpreters, and through them he negotiated, not, indeed, in regard to facts, the disclosure of which would have been replete with danger to all, but to procure from the court of Yedo a refusal of Doeff's request to remain in the presidency. But some of the females in Cassa's service were Doeff's spies ; from them he learned what was going forward, and by threatening the interpreters to lay the whole truth before the governor of Nagasaki, he carried his point, and again rid himself of his appointed successor. Sir S. Raffles did not apparently think it worth while, under existing cir-

cumstances, to renew an attempt in which success even could no longer promise permanent advantage to England. He sent no more ships, therefore ; and, as some time elapsed before the Dutch government was fully re-established and in active operation in Java, Heer Doeff had another interval of several years without trade, emoluments, or European comforts ; and in 1817 the regular Dutch vessels arrived, with Heer Blomhoff to succeed him.

All that need be added is, that the Japanese have now interpreters understanding English and Russian as well as Dutch, and that, since the year 1830, they have, according to Siebold, been stationed at different points round the external coast, to be ready for the approach of any strange ship. If this be so, it is certainly somewhat singular, that in Dr. Parker's account of his repulse in 1837 there should be no mention of these interpreters, unless, indeed, we may suppose that some of them were actually present, but, finding Mr. Gutzlaff could perform their part, deemed it politic to conceal their knowledge of English, for the purpose of preventing the restraint which their avowed character would have imposed upon the strangers. If this were so, they might have thus discovered the plans of the missionaries, and this would account for their hostile attack upon the vessel without having first ordered her away which is the usual milder course.

CHAPTER XI.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE OF THE JAPANESE.

The Language Original. — Grammar. — Alphabet. — Variety of Written Characters. — Their several Uses. — Printing. — Books. — Geography. — History. — Moral Philosophy. — Encyclopædias. — Poetry. — Specimens. — Science. — Medical. — Acupuncture and Moxa-burning. — Astronomy. — Whimsical Measurement and Division of Time. — Cycles. — Year. — Hours of the Day and Night. — Odd System of Numbering them. — Clocks. — Civil Engineering and Mechanics.

THE Japanese language was long supposed to be, if not a mere dialect of the Chinese, yet having as much affinity with it as the Italian and Spanish languages have with each other, or with their common parent, the Latin. This supposition, not based upon the study of the two languages, arose probably from the fact that the Japanese understand written though not spoken Chinese, while the Chinese understand Japanese when written in the Chinese character—one of the many used in Japan: a circumstance which, though startling at first sight, becomes perfectly intelligible when it is recollected that the Chinese characters express, not letters or unmeaning sounds, the mere constituent elements of words, but the words themselves, or, rather, the ideas which the words signify; and, therefore, must convey the same ideas, though expressed by different words, to all who know the meaning of the ideographic characters; just as the numerals 1, 2, 3, convey the same ideas of these several numbers to the natives of different countries, though expressed in each by different words. It may be added that the Japanese are said to speak a dialect of the Chinese *in addition* to their own language; but whether this means that the Jap-

anese learned men speak such a dialect, or that it is the common language in some parts of the empire, is not explained.*

The more profound and accurate knowledge of the Oriental languages acquired of late years by the scientific philologists of England, France, and Germany, has done much to correct this erroneous opinion respecting the Japanese tongue. The learned Klaproth, in his *Asia Polyglotta*, considers the Japanese language so unlike all others in structure, grammar, and every characteristic, as to prove that the nation who speak it must be a distinct race, and not, as had also been imagined, a Chinese colony. We shall not pretend to enter into a disquisition on this subject, but merely remark that a glance at the specimens given by Meylan and Fischer is sufficient to show one very striking and essential dissimilarity between the Chinese and Japanese tongues. Everybody knows the former to be a monosyllabic language, while the latter is polysyllabic; nay, it might be called hyper-polysyllabic, since the simple pronoun *I* cannot be expressed in Japanese by a smaller number of syllables than five, *watakoesi*; and to multiply *I* into *we* requires an additional dissyllable, as *watakoesi-domo*. At the same time it must be admitted, that of these syllables some are held, it would seem, so far supernumerary as to be dropped in speaking. Thus, in the Japanese dialogues given by Overmeer Fischer, who avows his knowledge of the language to have been adequate to the common purposes of every-day life, the *watakoesi* and *watakoesi-domo* of Meylan's grammatical specimen are contracted into the less euphonous but much shorter *watakfs* and *watakfs-domo*.

Fischer says that the sound of the Japanese is soft and sweet; Meylan, that some of the letters cannot be articulated, save by native organs "to

the manner born ;" which seems not unlikely, judging from the difficult contraction of the personal pronoun. The president adds, that in Japanese there are no articles ; and that the declension of the nouns is by small words following them, like the *domo* appended to *watakoesi*, to make it plural. In fact, the place of the preposition is simply reversed, by being made to follow instead of preceding the noun, thus assuming something of the character of declension by change in the termination. In respect to the verbs, they remain unaltered by person or number, though varying with the tense.

The Japanese alphabet consists of forty-seven letters, which may be in a manner much increased by affixing marks to the consonants that modify their sounds, rendering them harder or softer. This alphabet dates from the eighth century, and may be written with four different sets of characters. These are, the *katakana*, which is accounted proper to be used by men ; the *hiragane*, similarly appropriated to women ; the *manyokana* and the *yamatogana*, the difference between which, either in their nature or use, is not explained, but they are said to exhibit the original type of the Japanese letters. In addition to these four sets of letters, the Chinese is used as a sort of learned character, which has probably arisen from the arts and sciences having been brought from China to Japan. In this Chinese character all works of science, and those pertaining to the higher departments of literature, as also all official papers and public documents, are still written or printed. But even learned men employ the *katakana* in writing annotations upon books, the text of which is in the Chinese character. The Japanese, like the Chinese, write in columns from the top to the bottom of the paper, beginning from the right side.

Books intended for the instruction either of children or of the lower orders are invariably printed in *hiragane* letters ; but we are told that in those de-

signed for the well-educated classes, all the four kinds of letters are often indiscriminately used, intermixed also with the Chinese ideographic character; one word, and perhaps one syllable, being written in one character, and the next in another, which must be no small addition to the difficulty of making progress in Japanese literature.

Japan has long possessed the art of printing, after a fashion sufficiently perfect for the diffusion of their literary productions, but by no means emulating the splendour of the European press. The Japanese printers are unacquainted with movable types; and they rather multiply their copies by means of a very inferior sort of stereotype in wood, or by woodcuts, than really print, as we understand the process. Still they supply the public with books; and we are assured that reading is the favourite recreation of both sexes in Japan, especially at the *mikado's daira*.

Japanese literature comprises works of science, history, biography, geography, travels, moral philosophy, natural history, poetry, the drama, and encyclopædias. Of the merits of the different productions in most of these departments, the Dutch writers speak highly; but as few of the members of the factory are likely to have been qualified by education to judge in such matters, we may be allowed to receive their opinion with some distrust. Nor is this want of confidence in their critical taste diminished by turning to the very few data upon which we, in this country, can form an estimate for ourselves.

Klaproth has given a French version of a geographical treatise, and Titsingh has translated, or caused to be translated, the *Annals of the Dairi*, and those of the *Ziogoons* of the Gongen dynasty. Of these works the first is by far the best; it is minute, and no doubt imparts accurate knowledge of the geography and form of administration of the three dependencies claimed by the Japanese government,

Corea, the Loo Tchoo islands, and Yezo, including the Kurile archipelago. Its faults are dryness and want of interest, unavoidable, perhaps, in geographical description, and a great deficiency of statistical information. The *Annals of the Dairi* have been recently corrected and edited by Klaproth; and a more jejune account of births, marriages, accessions, abdications, and deaths, with a few sicknesses, pilgrimages, and rebellions—even these last being most uninterestingly told—it would be difficult to imagine. The *Annals of the Ziogoons* are similar in character, though interspersed with curious anecdotes; but these likewise are very heavily narrated, while some of them are evidently gleaned by Titsingh or his Japanese translators (for, according to Klaproth, Titsingh knew little of the language, and relied altogether upon the interpreters) from other sources than the original Annals. Altogether, the three works, though valuable for the information they supply, are such as it is no enviable task to wade through.

It should perhaps be added, in qualification of the severity of the criticism, that as Klaproth censures Titsingh's translations for being inaccurate, and betraying ignorance either of the Japanese or of the Dutch language, his own are similarly condemned by Siebold and his coadjutor J. Hoffmann, whom the learned doctor has employed to make German versions of various extracts from Japanese works. Of Hoffman's opportunities for acquiring knowledge of a language so little accessible to ordinary students and his proficiency in it, no explanation is given; but as his translations and criticisms are published by Siebold in his *Archive*, they must be received as bearing the stamp of his sanction. Some of the extracts given in the last numbers of the *Archive* are among the most agreeable specimens of Japanese literature that have as yet been placed within the reach of European readers; they are all in prose, and parts of them will be given in the chapters devoted to the subjects of which they treat.

Of the Japanese treatises upon morals, all that is known is, that they are little more than commentaries* upon the precepts of the Chinese philosopher Kung-foo-tsze, or Confucius, and disquisitions on the Sintoo mythology, which the highest philosophy allegorizes into the epochs of creation. The encyclopædias (of which M. Rémusat has given an excellent specimen†) appear to partake of the character of picture-books more than anything else, with letter-press explanations, arranged, like other Japanese dictionaries, sometimes alphabetically, sometimes according to a classification of the subjects that has but little claim to be considered scientific.‡

Of the construction of Japanese poetry, its metre or rhyme, nothing is said by any of the Dutch writers; but Presidents Meylan and Titsingh furnish some specimens, as far as prose translations can be said to afford a specimen of poetry. A selection from these examples may be here introduced; and as both gentlemen give the originals, printed in Roman characters, the insertion of one or two of these will show the form of the stanza, rhyme, &c. They will also show either that the Japanese language has great power of compression, or that the Dutch translator has been exceedingly prolix. The Dutch version is here rendered, line for line.

Aïta kanbé
 Kawo mita kanbé
 Mamani hana siwo
 Itasi ta kanbé
 Oeti siri tara
 Sakamasi kanbé
 Sikenni war kanbé.

Yes! eager is my longing
 To look upon thy face,

Siebold and Fischer.

† *MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi*, vol. xi., p. 123. ‡ See Note XIV

With thee some words to speak ;
 But this I must renounce ;
 For should it in my dwelling
 Once chance to be divulged.
 That I with thee had spoken,
 'Then grievous were the trouble
 Would surely light on me.
 For certain my good name
 Were lost for evermore.

The following ethical stanza is likewise given in the original, because there are some lines in it longer than in any of the other specimens ; but whether this is accidental, or occasioned by the nature of the subject, is not explained.

Kokoro da ni makoto,
 No mitri ni kana fi naba
 I! no ra tsoe to te mo kami,
 Iama mo ramoe.

Upright in heart be thou, and pure,
 So shall the blessing of God
 Through eternity be upon thee ;
 Clamorous prayers shall not avail,
 But truly a clear conscience,
 That worships and fears in silence.

One of 'Titsingh's specimens, a short poem upon the murder of Yamasiro, a councillor of state, is rather more poetical, containing allusions to old stories or legends, and exemplifying the play upon words said to be characteristic of Japanese poetry. The president, or, rather, his French translator, has added to his Dutch a Latin version, professedly literal, and no longer than the original, for which reason we shall give our English version from the latter. It should be premised, that the constituent parts of the murdered person's name being *yama*, "mountain," and *siro*, "castle," afford a happy opportunity for punning.

"That the young councillor is cut off at the castle on the hill by a new guard, exciting a tumult, I have just heard.

"Yamasiro's white robe being dyed with blood, all behold in him the reddening councillor.

"Along the eastern way, through the village Sanno, the rushing waters poured, burst the dike of the swamp, and the mountain-castle fell.

"The precious trees planted in vases, the plum-trees and cherry-trees beautiful with their blossoms, who threw them into the fire? 'Twas Sanno cut them down. (This alludes to an old story of one Sanno's unbounded hospitality, though reduced to extreme indigence.)

"Cut down is the insane councillor. We might say, had such things ever before been heard of, that this was the chastisement of Heaven."

The Japanese poetry consists, for the most part, it is said, of ballads, romances, and songs. Of the drama, all that could be found has already been given in speaking of the theatrical representations at Ohosaka; and we now turn from literature to science.

The only sciences which can be said to be cultivated in Japan are medicine and astronomy; and upon these we are assured that original works, as well as translations of all such European publications as are accessible to the Japanese through Dutch versions, are constantly appearing. Of the merits of the original works we have no means of judging, except by inference from the accounts given of the knowledge and ability of the Japanese physicians and astronomers, and on this head those of the medical travellers are favourable. Dr. Von Siebold mentions the zeal with which physicians from all parts of the empire thronged around him to acquire medical knowledge, and his high opinion of the intelligence and information evinced by their

questions has been already noticed. An opinion no less flattering has been expressed in relation to the astronomers; and it may be added, that their appreciation of the scientific superiority of Europe, of itself, places the Japanese far above the self-sufficient Chinese.

Of the proficiency of the Japanese in medical science, some notion may be formed from the facts that acupuncture and *moxa*-burning are native inventions. The former of these remedies, having been introduced into this country, needs no description; it may, however, be worth mentioning, that among the books brought to Europe by Heer Titsingh is one containing accurate directions for its use, with an enumeration of the maladies it is calculated to relieve, and accompanied by a doll, upon which is marked every part of the frame adapted to the operation. *Moxa*-burning is a means of blistering, or making an issue by burning balls of fungus (*moxa*) upon the skin.

The drugs employed in Japanese pharmacy are mostly of vegetable origin, chymistry being far too superficially and imperfectly known to allow of physicians venturing upon mineral remedies. But botany, as connected with the knowledge of simples, is diligently cultivated, and the medicines used are said to be generally beneficial; the chief reliance, however, is upon diet, acupuncture, and the *moxa*. Superstition is the main obstacle to the progress of both medicine and surgery: its baneful influence is manifested in the course of remedial treatment; and the belief that pollution is incurred by contact with death, renders dissection, and, consequently, the acquisition of anatomical knowledge, impracticable.

In regard to astronomy, however, no such superstitious impediments exist, and it is perhaps for this reason that greater proficiency has been made in it. The Japanese astronomers study the most profound works, such as Lalande's treatises, which

have been translated into Dutch, and they have learned the use of most European instruments. These they have taught the native artists to imitate, and Meylan saw good telescopes, barometers, and thermometers of Japanese workmanship; so that their almanacs, which were formerly imported from China, are now constructed at home, the calculation of eclipses included, in the colleges at Yedo and Miyako.

The measurement and division of time in Japan are very peculiar, and somewhat difficult to be understood. For chronological purposes cycles are employed; and of these there are three, unconnected and concurrent. The one is formed by a somewhat complicated blending of astronomy with natural philosophy; the remaining two are simple, and will therefore be first mentioned.

The cycle habitually used in history for dates is the *nengo*. This is a period of arbitrary, and, therefore, constantly varying length, from one year to any number of years. It is regulated by the pleasure of the reigning *mikado*, according to any remarkable event that he thinks worthy of such commemoration; he may, for instance, appoint a new *nengo* to begin from the completion of a temple, from an earthquake, or the like; and he gives it a name descriptive of its origin, either simply or in the Oriental style, that is, metaphorically and enigmatically. Thus a *mikado* ordered a new *nengo* to begin from his abdication, and named it the *nengo genrokf*; literally, "the *nengo* of the happiness of nature and art;" implying that he, in his retirement, should have leisure to enjoy both. The new *nengo* lasts till some subsequent event induces the same *mikado*, or his successor, immediate or remote, to terminate it and commence another.

The other simple mode of computation is by the reign or *daï* of each successive *mikado*. This, being the most plain and regular, is the one in common

use The only difficulty to which it seems liable, namely, the interruption of a reign in the middle of a year, is obviated by the provision that the reign thus terminating is by a fiction supposed to continue to the end of that year, and the reign of the succeeding *mikado* is calculated to begin from the next New-year's Day.

The third, or astronomical cycle of sixty years, is a very complex affair, being constructed by calculation out of the signs of the zodiac and the elements. The zodiacal signs of the Japanese are twelve in number, as with us, but differing in their names. These are: 1, the mouse; 2, the bull; 3, the tiger; 4, the hare; 5, the dragon; 6, the snake; 7, the horse; 8, the goat or sheep; 9, the monkey; 10, the cock; 11, the dog; 12, the boar.

The Japanese elements* are more original. They are held to be five in number, excluding air, and including wood and metal as elementary substances. But these five are whimsically enough doubled, by taking each one in a twofold character, first in its natural state, and then as adapted to the use of man, but in both considered as a separate element. This appears so strange that we shall explain the matter at length, taking the elements in their proper order.

1. *Kino-ye* is wood in its natural state, as a tree; this is the first element, and becomes,

2. *Kino-to*, when cut down and converted into timber.

3. *Fino-ye* is the element of fire in its original state, as in the sun's heat, lightning, volcanic eruptions, &c.

4. *Fino-to* is fire kindled by man, with wood, oil, &c.

5. *Tsoetsno-ye* is earth in an unimproved condition, as on the tops of mountains, at the bottom of the sea &c.

6. *Tsoetsno-to* is earth as wrought by the hand of man into porcelain, earthenware, and the like. To which of these two elements cultivated ground is assigned, does not appear.

7. *Kanno-ye* is the metallic element in its native state of mineral ore.

8. *Kanno-to* is this element after being smelted, &c.

9. *Mietsno-ye* is water as it flows from springs and in rivers ; and,

10. *Mietsno-to* is the other watery element, as stagnant in pools and morasses : a curious deviation from the principle laid down, that adaptation to human use constitutes every secondary element.

Now these ten elements being five times combined with the twelve signs of the zodiac, in some way more complicated than intelligible, sixty compound figures are said to be obtained, each of which stands for a year in this most scientific cycle.*

The Japanese year is divided into twelve lunar months, but contains more than the number of days properly belonging to such a year, inasmuch as the *mikado* and his astronomers add a couple of days to some of the months, announcing always in the almanac of the year how many and which of the months they have thus increased. The difference between the lunar year thus lengthened and the sidereal year is corrected by inserting every third year an intercalary month, varying in length according to the number of days the *mikado* has been pleased to render necessary.

But perhaps the most whimsical, and certainly the most inconvenient, division of time in Japan is that by hours. The natural day and night is divided into twelve hours, of which six are always allotted to the day, that is to say, to the interval between the rising and setting of the sun ; the other six to the night, or the period between sunset and sunrise

* See Note XVIII.

Thus the hours of the day and night are never of equal duration in Japan except at the equinoxes ; in summer the hours of the day being long, and those of the night short, and *vice versâ* in winter. Strictly speaking, the length of the hours should vary from day to day ; but such extreme accuracy is dispensed with, and the variations are regulated only four times in the year, upon averages of three months.

Again, the numbering of the hours, which seems so straightforward a matter for people who can count twelve, is in Japan so strangely complicated that, had not the expedient been adopted of bestowing upon each hour the name of a sign of the zodiac in addition to its number, it would be no easy task to answer there the seemingly plain question of "What's o'clock?" We shall attempt to explain this abstruse and original system.

Nine being esteemed the perfect number, noon and midnight are both called "nine o'clock," the one of the day, the other of the night ; while sunrise and sunset are respectively "six o'clock" of the day and "six o'clock" of the night. If it be asked how nine can occur twice in twelve, the answer is, that the arithmetical impossibility is conquered or obviated by omitting the first three numbers, beginning with four and ending with the perfect nine. The intermediate numbers are laboriously evolved from the multiplication table, and the system is based upon the profound respect entertained for number nine. Here is the process :

Nine, being the hour of noon or midnight, is the point from which the numbering begins, and is considered as the first hour. Twice 9 are 18 ; subtract the decimal figure and 8 remains, therefore is the hour following noon or midnight, say the second hour, 8 o'clock of the day or of the night. Three times 9 are 27 ; subtract the decimal figure and 7 remains, and the third hour becomes 7 o'clock of the day or night. Four times 9 are 36 : repeat the op-

eration, and we find the fourth hour, which must invariably be sunset or sunrise, 6 o'clock of the night or day. Five times 9 are 45; and the usual operation makes the hour following sunset or sunrise, or the fifth from either noon, 5 o'clock of the night or day. Finally, six times 9 are 54; and by the same operation we obtain 4 for the sixth and last hour, which becomes 4 o'clock of the night or day. Then again comes the noon, or 9 o'clock of the night or day. A table, which, without previous explanation, must have been unintelligible, will now place the sequence of the twelve hours of a natural day distinctly before the reader.

Midnight. 9 o'clock night, hour of the Mouse.

8 o'clock do. do. Bull.

7 o'clock do. do. Tiger.

Sunrise. 6 o'clock day do. Hare.

5 o'clock do. do. Dragon.

4 o'clock do. do. Snake.

Noon. 9 o'clock do. do. Horse.

8 o'clock do. do. Goat or Sheep.

7 o'clock do. do. Monkey.

Sunset. 6 o'clock night do. Cock.

5 o'clock do. do. Dog.

4 o'clock do. do. Boar.

These hours are always sounded by the bells of the temples. The measuring them seems a more difficult matter, though lengthening and shortening the pendulum are spoken of as sufficient for this purpose* (of course, daily, or, rather, twice a day, at sunrise and sunset, must be meant). Two indigenous modes are also mentioned: the one (which may evidently answer) by the burning of bodies of determinate magnitude, analogous to our Alfred's candles; the other by a peculiar sort of clock, described, not very intelligibly, to consist of a horizontal balance, having a weight at either end, moving backward and forward upon a pin.* The subject of

* Fischer.

hours and clocks may be concluded with the description of a Japanese clock (though unfortunately not of its mechanism), ordered in 1826 by the governor of Nagasaki as a present for the *ziogoon*, and considered as a masterpiece of mechanical skill. As such it was proudly exhibited to the Dutch factory, and certainly indicates more ingenuity than taste.

“ The clock* is contained in a frame three feet high by five feet long, and presents a fair landscape at noontide. Plum and cherry trees in full blossom, with other plants, adorn the foreground. The background consists of a hill, from which falls a cascade, skilfully imitated in glass, that forms a softly-flowing river, first winding round rocks placed here and there, then running across the middle of the landscape till lost in a wood of fir-trees. A golden sun hangs aloft in the sky, and, turning upon a pivot, indicates the striking of the hours. On the frame below the twelve hours of day and night are marked, where a slowly-creeping tortoise serves as a hand. A bird, perched upon the branch of a plum-tree, by its song and the clapping of its wings announces the moment when an hour expires, and as the song ceases a bell is heard to strike the hour, during which operation a mouse comes out of a grotto and runs over the hill. * * * Every separate part was nicely executed ; but the bird was too large for the tree, and the sun for the sky, while the mouse scaled the mountain in a moment of time.”

The Japanese possess some trifling knowledge of mathematics, mechanics, trigonometry, and civil engineering ; they have canals, intended chiefly for irrigation, and a great variety of bridges ; they have learned to measure the height of mountains by the barometer, and have latterly constructed very good maps of their country. In mechanics they have not got much beyond lathes and water-mills, nor do

they desire to make farther progress. 'The views entertained upon this subject were explicitly announced upon an occasion when the model of an oil-mill was presented to the *ziogoon* among the yearly presents. The ingenuity of the invention and its admirable mechanism were highly commended, but the model was returned, as the adoption of such an aid to labour would throw out of work all those who earned their bread by the ordinary mode of obtaining oil.

Of military engineering and navigation the Japanese are wholly ignorant, though they have long possessed the mariner's compass as an aid to the latter.

CHAPTER XII.

ARTS, MANUFACTURES, TRADE, AND PRODUCTIONS OF JAPAN.

Painting.—Prints.—Casting.—Lacker-work.—Metallurgy.—Sword-blades.—Manufactures.—Trade.—Productions.—Money.—Post.—Ship-building.—Husbandry.—Culture of Tea and Mode of drying it.—Art of dwarfing Trees, and of producing Vegetables of extraordinary size.

THE state of the arts in Japan is another point upon which there is some difficulty in forming a satisfactory opinion, partly as we cannot have entire confidence in the judgment of the members of the factory in relation to such subjects, and partly from the unanimous assurances given us that the best specimens in every department are wholly unattainable by foreigners. Some estimate might be formed, indeed, from the station assigned the artist in the classification of society, but for the possibility that this might rather indicate his past than present

condition. All, therefore, that can be safely affirmed is, that the arts are more advanced in this country than in China.

In regard to their music sufficient has been already said.

Respecting the graphic art, we are told that the Japanese are extremely fond of painting, and eager collectors of pictures; that they sketch boldly with charcoal and often in ink, never having occasion to efface; that their outlines are clear, and that their drawing is as good as could be expected with their ignorance of perspective and anatomy. From this ignorance probably arises their acknowledged inability to take a correct likeness, the professed portrait-painters bestowing their care rather upon the dress than the features of their sitters. In birds and flowers they succeed better; and two folio volumes of paintings of flowers, with the name and properties of each written on the opposite page, the work of a Japanese lady, and by her presented to Heer Titsingh, her husband's friend, are spoken of as being beautifully done. Delicate finishing seems to be the chief excellence of the Japanese artists.

In the higher department of the art, landscape and figures, some specimens are offered by the writers upon the subject, but so various in merit that they perplex almost as much as they assist the judgment. Titsingh's plates of wedding and funeral processions, &c., from paintings by native artists, are about on a level with Chinese pictures. Meylan's are a shade better, and such as the qualified praise bestowed by him might lead one to expect.* Siebold's, although he visited Japan prior to Meylan, are far superior to his, at least those of them which are taken from pictures painted for himself; and this he explains by stating that the young native artist whom he employed was then studying the

* See Note XIX.

European principles of his art. It is to be hoped, for the sake of the future progress of the art in Japan, that this young artist was not the one who was compelled to resort to the *hara-kiri* on account of his map-copying crime. But the plates in Overmeer Fischer's splendid volume are of a character so very superior to all others; they are so highly finished, and have so much of light and shade, though defective enough in drawing and perspective, that it is difficult not to suspect that some improving touches were given in Holland before the original pictures passed into the engraver's hands: a suspicion certainly not weakened by an inspection of the Japanese rooms in the Royal Museum at the Hague, where, we are told, are the best specimens of every description that could be smuggled into Dezima and on shipboard.*

The Japanese are unacquainted with oil-painting, but skilful in the management of water-colours. These they prepare both from minerals and vegetables, obtaining tints far more brilliant and beautiful than ours of the same kind.

Prints they have in abundance, but only wood-cuts. The art of engraving upon copper has, however, been recently introduced among them, and adopted with an eagerness which promises well for its cultivation.

Of sculpture, no trace appears in any of the authors beyond the occasional mention of a little ornamental carving; but we are told that the Japanese have attained as much excellence in casting as is compatible with their utter disregard of proportions. They are said to cast handsome vases and images, and their bells are remarkable for the beauty of the *bas-reliefs* that adorn them. These bells have no metal tongues, but are sounded by striking them externally with a wooden mallet.

Of architecture as an art there is no idea in this country.

* See Note XX.

Of the lacker-work, known with us by the name of Japan, all the writers assert that no adequate conception can be formed from the specimens commonly seen in Europe. What is really fine cannot be purchased by foreigners, and the best articles ever obtained by the members of the factory are received as presents from their Japanese friends. These are mostly deposited in the Royal Museum at the Hague; and, though esteemed at home scarcely second-rate, are so really superior to the ordinary Japan, that no opinion should be given upon the beauty of the art without having inspected that collection.

The whole process of lackering is extremely slow. The varnish, which is the resinous product of a shrub called *oerosino-ki* (*rhus vernix*), or "varnish plant," requires a tedious preparation to fit it for use. It is tinted by slow and long-continued rubbing upon a copper-plate with the colouring-material, and the operation of lackering is no less tedious than are its preliminaries. Five different coats, at the very least, are successively applied, suffered to dry, and then ground down with a fine stone or a reed,* and it is only by this patient labour that the varnish acquires its superior excellence. The brilliant mother-of-pearl figures consists of layers of shell, cut and fashioned to the shape required, and coloured at the back; then laid into the varnish, and subjected to the same coating and grinding process as the rest, whence they derive their glittering splendour.

The Japanese do not understand cutting precious stones, and therefore set no value upon them, which may account for the absence of jewellery in the dresses of both sexes. In metallurgy they are, however, very skilful; and the beautiful article called *syakfdo*, in which various metals are partly blended, partly combined, producing an effect much resembling fine enamel, is used in lieu of jewels for girdle-clasps,

* See Note XXI.

boxes, sword-hilts, &c. But the branch of this art in which they surpass most other nations is the tempering of steel, and their sword-blades are said to be of a transcendent excellence, bearing the fine edge of a razor,* and capable of cutting through an iron nail or a European sword without turning or notching the edge. They are valued accordingly; and we are told that a sum equal to \$500 is not thought too much to give for a particularly fine sword-blade, while an old one of exquisite temper is esteemed beyond all price. Their exportation is prohibited, from some superstitious idea of an intimate connexion between Japanese valour and Japanese arms, as a joint heritage from their divine ancestors.

Of the manufactures of the country we shall only say that they make everything wanted for their own use; that their porcelain has degenerated from its former superiority, owing, it is said, to a deficiency of the peculiar fine clay of which it was once made; and that their most beautiful silks are wove by high-born criminals, who are confined upon a small, rocky, unproductive island, their property confiscated, and they themselves obliged to pay for their daily food with the produce of their manual labour. The exportation of these silks is likewise prohibited.

With respect to commerce, the external trade is now limited to two Dutch ships and twelve Chinese junks yearly. Nor is this all. The value of the cargoes which these vessels are allowed to import is limited; that of the Dutch to about \$360,000, of the Chinese to half as much more. The articles of export have been progressively narrowed, until they are now nearly confined to camphor and copper, and the quantity of the latter to be taken away is matter of constant dispute between the Dutch factory and

* Fischer.

the exchequer of Nagasaki. The government, it would seem, dreads the exhaustion of the mines.

The internal trade is said to be very considerable, its activity and importance originating in the great variety of productions resulting from variety of climate. The three principal islands, Nippon, Kiusiu, and Sikokf, are estimated to comprise an area of 90,000 square miles, and with the smaller islands, its dependencies, the Loo-Choo islands to the south, and Yezo and the Kurile archipelago to the north, the empire of Japan extends* from the 24th to the 50th degree north latitude, and from the 123d to the 150th east longitude. Hence the southern islands, though generally said not to be hot enough for the sugarcane, teem with most of the fruits of the tropics, while the northern yield those of the temperate zones. The mountains abound in mineral wealth of every description, and the volcanic districts in sulphur. The silver-mines of Tsusima were known and worked as far back as the year 674. This internal trade the government sedulously encourages, protects, and facilitates.

The circulating medium of the country is gold, silver, and copper; but only the gold and the larger silver pieces can properly be called coin. They bear the mint stamp, and are of ascertained value; smaller silver pieces and all the copper appear to pass by weight. Paper-money is likewise current in some principalities, and bills of exchange are in use among the merchants.

A post for letters is established throughout the empire, which, though pedestrian, is said to be wonderfully expeditious.* Every carrier is accompanied by a partner, to guard against the possibility of delay from any accident that may chance to befall him. The men run at their utmost speed; and, upon approaching the end of their stage, find the re-

* Siebold.

lay carriers waiting for them, to whom the packet is tossed the moment they are within reach of each other: thus the relay postmen have already started before the arriving postmen have stopped. The greatest prince of the empire, if he meet the postmen on the road, must give way, with his whole train, and take care that their course is not obstructed by him or his.

By land, goods are conveyed on pack-horses and pack-oxen, that ascend and descend the staircase roads we have already mentioned across the mountains. But the principal carriage of merchandise is by water; and for the navigation of their rivers and lakes, for fishing on the coasts, passing from port to port, and even for crossing the sea from island to island, the Japanese vessels are amply sufficient. That they are utterly inadequate to long voyages arises from the government system of seclusion. A sort of navigation act prescribes the form in which their vessels must be built, requiring them to be so weak about the stern,* and the rudder to be so hung, that a rough sea must be almost certain to unship the latter, if not to cause a leak in the stern: a pretty effectual device for preventing the voluntary undertaking of long voyages, though its humanity may well be questioned, as it must needs cause the loss of many fishing-boats and coasting-vessels. That, however, is of no great importance in Japanese estimation.

But if such a law has been passed since the system of seclusion was adopted, it is not a little startling to read in the extracts given by Dr. Von Siebold from Japanese books, that a similar law was promulgated by a *mikado* who reigned prior to the Christian era. How is this reconcilable with the accounts found in all our earlier authorities, of the extensive trade carried on by Japan when first vis-

* Fischer.

ated by Europeans? Two hypotheses only offer which seem capable of solving the difficulty, either that the idiosyncratic tendency to seclusion was long overpowered by the commercial spirit, as it progressively developed itself, or the Japanese author, wishing to cast over a regulation which he felt to be both barbarous and absurd the softening veil of antiquity, has attributed to some *Son of Heaven* who *vanished* two thousand years ago a law of which the worthy *mikado* never dreamed.

Almost all the Japanese craft are equally well calculated for sailing or rowing. The largest are of sixty tons burden, and have one heavy mast, bearing an immense square sail, with a small mast and sail at the prow. The oars are very long, and are not taken out of the water in rowing. The rowers stand to their work, and are said to impel the vessel with extraordinary swiftness. Japanese sailors are generally bold and skilful. The fisheries are very productive, and the fishermen in constant activity, fish constituting the principal food of the people.

In agriculture the Japanese are equally diligent and successful. With the exception of the roads, and of the woods required to supply timber and charcoal, hardly a foot of ground to the very tops of the mountains is left uncultivated.* Where cattle cannot draw the plough, or upon the steep sides of the hills, men take their place, or substitute manual tillage. The soil is naturally steril, but the labour bestowed upon it, aided by judicious irrigation, and all the manure that can in any way be collected, conquers its natural defects, and is repaid by abundant harvests.

The grain principally cultivated is rice, said to be the best produced in Asia. Barley and wheat are likewise grown, the former for feeding cattle; the

* Mevian.

latter is little valued, and chiefly used for cakes and soy. This last is made by fermenting together, under ground, wheat and a particular kind of bean, with salt. Beans of all sorts, other leguminous vegetables, and various kinds of roots, are sedulously cultivated, as is also the mulberry, solely for the sake of the silkworm ; but the silk of Japan is said to be inferior to the Chinese. A coarse sugar is obtained from the sap of a tree.

But the grand object of cultivation, next to rice, is the teaplant. This was introduced into Japan about the beginning of the ninth century, when the Bonze Yeitsin, returning from China, presented the first cup of tea to the *Mikado* Saga. Its consumption is now almost unlimited. To supply this demand, in addition to the large plantations where it is grown and prepared for sale, every hedge upon every farm is formed of the teaplant, and furnishes the drink of the farmer's family and labourers. The finer sort of tea requires special care in the cultivation.* The plantations are situated remote from the habitations of man, and as much as may be from all other crops, lest the delicate flavour of the tea should suffer from smoke, impurity, or emanations of any kind. The plants are manured with dried anchovies and a liquor pressed from mustard-seed. They must enjoy the unobstructed beams of the morning sun, and thrive best upon well-watered hillsides. The plant is polarded or headed down to render it more branchy, and therefore more productive, and must be five years old before the leaves are gathered.

The process of harvesting the tea, or, rather, of storing the harvest, is one of extreme nicety. The leaves are sorted for the finer and coarser teas as they are plucked, and no more of either kind are gathered in a day than can be dried before night. There are two modes of drying, called the dry and

* Siebold.

the wet process. In the one, the leaves are at once placed in a hot iron pan, then thrown upon a mat and rolled by hand; during the whole operation, which is repeated five or six times, or till the leaves are quite dry, a yellow juice exudes: this is called the dry process. In the other, the leaves are first placed in a vessel over the steam of boiling water, where they remain till they are withered; they are then rolled by hand, and dried in the iron pan. When thus prepared, less of the yellow juice exuding, the leaves retain a brighter green colour and more of their narcotic quality. Hence Dr. Siebold conjectures that black and green teas differ solely from the different modes of drying the leaves, and in neither process is there the deleterious use of copper, as is commonly suspected. The peculiar action of green tea upon the nerves he ascribes wholly to the quantity and quality of its own yellow juice retained in the wet process. Yet it must be remembered that Linnæus held them to be from two distinct plants; and that in the European botanical gardens (for instance, at Leyden, where Dr. Siebold resides), two distinct plants, with somewhat differently-shaped leaves, are now shown as the black and the green teaplants. When fresh dried, the tea is delicately susceptible of all extraneous odours, and requires to be carefully guarded from their influence.

Before quitting this subject, a few words must be said of the Japanese gardeners, although their horticultural skill would entitle them to rank among the artists or artificers of the country rather than the agriculturists. These gardeners value themselves alike upon the art of dwarfing and that of unnaturally enlarging all vegetable productions. They exhibit in the miniature gardens of the towns fullgrown trees of various kinds only three feet high, with heads not more than this in diameter. These dwarf-trees are reared in flower-pots, as alluded to in one of the poems given in a former chapter; and when they

bear luxuriant branches upon a distorted stem, the very *acmé* of perfection is attained ; or, to speak more correctly, it might be supposed attained, had not President Meylan, in the year 1826, seen a box, which he describes as one inch in diameter by three inches high, but which Fischer represents, somewhat less incredibly, as four inches long, one and a half wide, and six high, in which were actually growing and thriving a bamboo, a fir, and a plum tree, the latter in full blossom. The price of this portable grove was 1200 Dutch gulden, or about \$500.

As examples of the success of these horticulturists in the opposite branch of their art, Meylan mentions plum-trees covered with blossoms, each one of which was four times the size of the cabbage-rose (of course not producing fruit, which the Japanese appear not greatly to value), and radishes weighing from fifty to sixty pounds : radishes of fifteen pounds' weight he speaks of as of common occurrence. This magnifying art is more beneficially applied to fir-trees, many of which growing in the grounds of the temples are represented as being of an extraordinary size. No dimensions of trunks are stated, but we are told that the branches, springing at the height of seven or eight feet, are led out, sometimes across ponds, and supported upon props to such a length, that they give a shade of three hundred feet in diameter.

It may here be added that Japan is said to abound in cedar-trees, which rival in magnitude the far-famed cedars of Lebanon.

The empire contains neither sheep, goats, swine, nor asses. The universal cultivation affords little room for wild animals ; deer, however, are found there, venison being the meat most used at the Japanese table ; and so also are foxes, which are considered as emblems, if not incarnations, of the Evil Principle, and, consequently, are sedulously hunted and destroyed.

CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGION OF JAPAN.

Sinsyu.—Cosmogony.—Celestial and Terrestrial Gods.—Temples.—No Idols.—Future State.—Precepts.—Impurity.—Purification.—Form of Worship.—Priests.—Pilgrimages.—Orders of the Blind.—Their Romantic Origin.—Sects.—Buddhism.—Its Introduction.—Arts by which Established.—Letter from the Corean Prince.—Tumult by Anti-Buddhists.—Buddhism blended with *Sinsyu*.—*Siutoo*.—Consequences of the Aversion to Christianity.—Present State of the three Religions.—Strange Story of a former fourth Religion resembling Christianity.

THE history of Japan is, in its commencement at least, so intimately connected with the religion of the country, that, in the little here intended to be said of either, the latter seems naturally to take precedence of the former.

The original national religion of Japan is denominated *Sinsyu*, from the words *sin* (the gods) and *syu* (faith), and its votaries are called *Sintoos*. Such, at least, is the general interpretation; but Dr. Von Siebold asserts the proper indigenous name of this religion to be *Kami-no-mitsi*, meaning “the way of the *kami*” or gods, which the Chinese having translated into *Shin-tao*, the Japanese subsequently adopted that appellation, merely modifying it into *Siutoo*.

The *Sintoo* mythology and cosmogony, being as extravagantly absurd as those of most Oriental nations, possess little claim to notice, except in such points as are essential to the history of Japan and the supremacy of the *mikado*.

From* primæval chaos, according to the Japanese,

* Siebold—the authority for nearly the whole of this chapter

arose a self-created supreme god, throned in the highest heaven (as is implied by his somewhat lengthy name of *Ameno-mi-naka-nusimo-kami*), and far too great to have his tranquillity disturbed by any cares whatever. Next arose two creator gods, who fashioned the universe out of chaos, but seem to have stopped short of this planet of ours, leaving it still in a chaotic state. The universe was then governed for some myriads of years by seven successive deities, with equally long names, but collectively called the celestial gods. To the last of these, Iza-na-gi-mikoto, the only one who married (though all his six predecessors had female partners of their state, as sisters rather than wives), the earth owes its existence. He once upon a time thus addressed his consort Iza-na-mi-mikoto: "There should be somewhere a habitable earth; let us seek it under the waters that are boiling beneath us." Thereupon he dipped his jewelled spear into the water, and the turbid drops that trickled from the weapon as he withdrew it, condensing, formed an island. This island, it should seem, was Kiusiu, the largest of the eight that then constituted the world, or, in other words, Japan. Iza-na-gi-mikoto next called eight millions of gods into existence, created "the ten thousand things" (*yorod-su-no-mono*), and then committed the government of the whole to his favourite and best child, his daughter, the goddess of the sun, known by the three different names of Ama-terasu-oho-kami, Oo-hiru-meno-mikoto, and Ten-sio-dai-zin, which last is chiefly given her in her connexion with Japan.

With the sovereignty of Ten-sio-dai-zin began a new epoch. She reigned, instead of myriads, only about 250,000 years, and was followed by four other gods or demi-gods, who in succession governed the world 2,091,042 years. These are the terrestrial gods; and the last of them, having married a mortal wife, left a mortal son upon earth, named Zin-mu-ten-wou, the immediate ancestor of the *mikados*.

But of all these high and puissant gods, although so essentially belonging to Zintoo mythology, none seem to be objects of worship except Ten-sio-dai-zin, and she, though the especial patron deity of Japan, is too great to be addressed in prayer, save through the mediation of the *kami*, or of her descendant the *mikado*. The *kami*, again, are divided into superior and inferior, 492 being born gods, or perhaps spirits, and 2640 being deified or canonized men. They are all mediatory spirits. To them temples are consecrated, and they are the annual visitors of the *mikado*.*

But with divinities thus numerous, the Sintoos are no idolators. Their temples are unpolluted by idols; and the only incentives to devotion they contain are a mirror, the emblem of the soul's perfect purity, and what is called a *gohei*, consisting of many strips of white paper, which, according to some writers, are blank, and merely an emblem of purity; according to others, are inscribed with moral and religious sentences. The temples possess, indeed, images of the *kami* to whom they are specially dedicated, but they are not set up to be worshipped; being kept, with their temple treasures, in some secret receptacle, and only exhibited upon particular festivals. Private families are said to have images of their patron *kami* in shrines and chapels adjoining the verandah of the temple they frequent; but Meylan avers that every *yasiro* and *miya* is dedicated solely to the one Supreme God, and Siebold considers every image as a corrupt innovation. He seems to think that in genuine *Sinsyu*, Ten-sio-dai-zin alone is or was worshipped, and that of the *kami* no images existed prior to the introduction of the Buddhist idolatry.

There is, as might have been expected, some confusion in the statements of different writers in regard to

* See Chapter VI.

the whole of this topic ; among other things, respecting the Sintoo views of a future state, of which Dr. Von Siebold, upon whom the most reliance can be placed, gives the following account : “ The Sintooist has a vague notion of the soul’s immortality ; of an eternal future state of happiness and misery, as the reward respectively of virtue or vice ; of separate places whither the soul goeth after death. Heavenly judges call each one to an account. To the good is allotted Paradise, and they enter the realm of the *kami*. The wicked are condemned and thrust into hell.”

The duties enjoined by *Sinsyu*,* the practice of which is to ensure happiness here and hereafter (happiness here, meaning a happy frame of mind), are five. 1st. Preservation of pure fire, as the emblem of purity and instrument of purification. 2d. Purity of soul, heart, and body ; in the former, to be preserved by obedience to the dictates of reason and the law ; in the latter, by abstinence from whatever defiles. 3d. Observance of festival days. 4th. Pilgrimages. 5th. The worship of the *kami*, both in the temples and at home.

The impurity to be sedulously avoided is contracted in various ways : by associating with the impure ; by hearing obscene, wicked, or brutal language ; by eating of certain meats ; and also by contact with blood and death. Hence, if a workman wound himself in building a temple, he is dismissed as impure, and in some instances the sacred edifice has been pulled down and begun anew. The impurity is greater or less, that is to say, of longer or shorter duration, according to its source ; and the longest of all is occasioned by the death of a near relative. During impurity, access to any temple, and most acts of religion, are forbidden, and the head must be covered, that the sun’s beams may not be defiled by falling upon it.

* Siebold.

But purity is not recovered by the mere lapse of the specified time. A course of purification must be gone through, consisting chiefly in fasting, prayer, and the study of edifying books in solitude. In this way is the period of mourning for the dead to be passed. Dwellings are purified by fire. The purified person throws aside the white mourning dress worn during impurity, and returns to society in a festal garb.

The numerous Sintoo festivals have been already alluded to ; and it may suffice to add, that all begin with a visit to the temple, sometimes to one specially appointed for the day. Upon approaching, the worshipper, in his dress of ceremony, performs his ablutions at a reservoir provided for the purpose ; he then kneels in the verandah, opposite a grated window, through which he gazes at the mirror ; then offers up his prayers, together with a sacrifice of rice, fruit, tea, *sakee*, or the like ; and when he has concluded his orisons, depositing money in a box, he withdraws. The remainder of the day he spends as he pleases, except when appropriate sports belong to it. This is the common form of *kami* worship at the temples, which are not to be approached with a sorrowful spirit, lest sympathy should disturb the happiness of the gods. At home, prayer is similarly offered before the domestic oratory and garden-*miya* ; and prayer precedes every meal.

The money contributions deposited by the worshippers are destined for the support of the priests belonging to the temple. The Sintoo priests are called *kaminusi*, or the landlords of the gods ; and, in conformity with their name, they reside in houses built within the grounds of their respective temples, where they receive strangers very hospitably. The *kaminusi* marry, and their wives are the priestesses, to whom specific religious rites and duties are allotted ; as, for instance, the ceremony of naming children, already described.

But pilgrimage is the grand act of Sintoo devotion, and there are in the empire two-and-twenty shrines commanding such homage; one of these is however, so much more sacred than the rest, that of it alone is there any occasion to speak. This shrine is the temple of Ten-sio-dai-zin, at Isye, conceived by the great body of ignorant and bigoted devotees to be the original temple, if not the birth-place, of the goddess of the sun. To make this pilgrimage to Isye at least once is imperatively incumbent upon man, woman, and child of every rank, and, it might almost be said, of every religion, since even among professed Buddhists only the bonzes ever exempt themselves from this duty. The more devout repeat it annually. The *ziogoon*, who has, upon economical grounds, been permitted, as have some of the greater princes, to perform this great act of devotion vicariously, sends a yearly embassy of pilgrims to Isye. Of course, the majority of the pilgrims journey thither as conveniently as their circumstances permit; but the most approved and sanctifying mode is to make the pilgrimage on foot and as a mendicant, carrying a mat on which to sleep, and a wooden ladle from which to drink. The greater the hardships endured, the higher the merit of the pilgrim.

It need scarcely be said that no person in a state of impurity may undertake this, or, indeed, any pilgrimage, and that all exposure to impurity must be studiously avoided during its continuance; and this is supposed to be the principal reason why the Buddhist priests are exempted from compliance with a requirement enjoined upon their flocks. The bonzes, from their attendance upon the dying and the dead, are in Sintoo estimation in an almost uninterrupted state of impurity. But, to prepare for the Isye pilgrimage, even the pure are obliged to submit to a course of special purification. Nay, any contamination of the dwelling of the absent pil-

grim would, it is conceived, be attended with disastrous consequences ; the purity of his vacant abode is therefore guarded by affixing a piece of white paper over the door, as a warning to the impure to avoid defiling the place.

Upon reaching the hallowed shrine, every pilgrim applies to a priest to guide him through the course of devotional exercises that he has come so far to perform. When the numerous rites and prayers in the temple and its subsidiary *miyas* have been completed, the pilgrim receives from the priest who has acted as his special director a written absolution of all his past sins, and makes him, in return, a present proportioned to his own means and station. This certificate of absolution, called *oho-haraki*, is ceremoniously carried home and displayed in the absolved pilgrim's house. And from the importance of holding a recent absolution at the close of life arises the necessity of frequently repeating the pilgrimage. Among the Isye priestesses, there is almost always one of the daughters of a *mikado*.

The temple at Isye is a very plain, humble, and unpretending structure, and really of great antiquity, though not quite as great as what is ascribed to it. It is surrounded by a vast number of inferior *miyas*. The whole town is occupied by priests and persons connected with the temple, depending upon the concourse of pilgrims for their support. The poorer pilgrims are supported by charity during their stay there.

In addition to the *Kaminusi*, who constitute the regular priesthood of Japan, there are two fraternities of the blind, which are considered religious orders, though the members of one of them are said to support themselves chiefly by their skill in music—even furnishing the usual orchestra at the theatres. The incidents to which the foundation of these institutions is referred are too romantic, and, in re-

gard to one of them, too thoroughly Japanese, to be omitted.

The origin of the first, the *Bussatz sato*, was indeed purely sentimental. It was established, we are told, very many centuries ago, by Senmimar, the youngest son of a *mikado*, and the handsomest of living men, in commemoration of his having wept himself blind for the loss of his princess, whose beauty equalled his own. These *Bussatz sato* had existed for ages, when, in the course of a civil war, the celebrated Yoritomo (of whom more will be said in the next chapter), at the head of the *mikado's* troops, defeated his antagonist, the rebel Prince Feki (who fell in the battle), and took his general, Kakekigo, prisoner. This general's renown was great throughout Japan, and earnestly did the conqueror strive to gain his captive's friendship; he loaded him with kindness, and finally offered him his liberty. Kakekigo replied, "I can love none but my slain master. I owe you gratitude, but you caused Prince Feki's death, and never can I look upon you without wishing to kill you. My best way to avoid such ingratitude and to reconcile my conflicting duties is never to see you more, and thus do I ensure it." As he spoke he tore out his eyes, and presented them to Yoritomo on a salver. The prince, struck with admiration, released him, and Kakekigo withdrew into retirement, where he founded the second order of the blind, the *Fekisado*.

The superiors of these orders reside at Miyako, and appear to be subject alike to the *mikado* and to the temple lords at Yedo.

The votaries of *Sinsyu* are now divided into two principal sects. Of these, the *Yuitz* profess to be strictly orthodox, admitting of no innovation; they are said to be few in number, and consist almost exclusively of the *Kaminusi*; but Siebold doubts whether their creed is quite pure. The other sect, known by the name of *Rioboo-Sintoo*, meaning two-sided

kami worship, which might, perhaps, be better Englished Eclectic *Sinsyu*, and which is much modified, comprises the great body of *Sintoos*. The nature and character of this modification will be more intelligible after one of the coexistent religions, namely, Buddhism, shall have been spoken of.

It might have been anticipated, that a religion upon which the sovereignty of the country is so essentially founded must forever remain the exclusive faith of Japan unless superseded for the express purpose of deposing the reigning *mikado*. But two other religions coexist and have long coexisted there with *Sinsyu*.

The first and most important of these is Buddhism, the most widely diffused of all false creeds, as appears by an estimate made of the respective followers of the chief of them, in which we find 252,000,000 Mohammedans, 111,000,000 believers in Brahma, and 315,000,000 Buddhists. A very few words respecting this creed may suffice to explain the causes of its coexistence and actual blending with *Sinsyu*.

Buddhism does not claim the antiquity, the cosmogonic dignity, or the self-creative origin of *Sinsyu*. Its founder, Sakya Sinha, called Syaka in Japan, was not a god, but a man, who by his virtues and austerities attained to divine honours, was then named Buddha or the Sage, and founded a religion. His birth is placed at the earliest 2420, and at the latest 543 years before the Christian era. Since his death and deification Buddha is supposed to have been incarnate in some of his principal disciples, who, like himself, are deified and worshipped, in subordination, however, to the supreme god, Buddha Amida. Buddhism is essentially idolatrous;* it differs also from *Sinsyu* in maintaining the doctrine of Metempsychosis, whence the prohibition to take animal life, the theory of a future state placing happiness in absorp-

* See Note XXII.

tion into the Divine essence, and punishment in the prolongation of individuality by revivification in man or the inferior animals, and, furthermore, in making the priesthood a distinct order, bound to celibacy.

The Buddhist somewhat hyper-philosophic theory of heaven does not appear to have been taught in Japan, and in its other tenets there is evidently nothing very incompatible with *Sinsyu*. The first introduction, or, rather, the final establishment of Buddhism in Japan, is somewhat differently related by Klaproth and Siebold, by both upon the authority of Japanese works, and, therefore, both accounts will be given. According to the first, the Buddhist bonze, after his religion had for five hundred years failed to gain a footing in Japan, finally succeeded in establishing it, A.D. 552, by skilfully obviating objections, and enlisting the national prejudices on his side. He represented either Ten-sio-dai-zin as having been an *avatar* or incarnation of Amida, or Buddha an incarnation of Ten-sio-dai-zin (which of the two does not seem certain), and a young boy, the eldest son of the reigning *mikado's* eldest son, as an *avatar* of some patron god. This flattering announcement obtained for him the training of the boy, who refused to accept the dignity of *mikado* as a man, though he took an active part in the government of his aunt, subsequently raised to that dignity. He founded several Buddhist temples, and died a bonze in the principal one of them.

Siebold gives in his account the following extract from a native historian: "In 552 Sehing-ming-whang, king of Petsi (a Corean state, then the dependant ally of Japan), sent to the *dairi* a bronze image of Sakya Buddha, with flags, books, &c., and the following letter:

"This doctrine is the best of any. It reveals what was a riddle and a mystery even to Kung-Footse (Confucius). It promises us happiness and retribution immeasurable and boundless, and finally

makes of us an unsurpassable Buddhi. It is, to use a simile, a treasure containing all that the human heart desires, affording all that is for our good. And this treasure possesses a twofold value, because it so completely adapts itself to the nature of our soul. Pray or make vows, according to the disposition of your mind, and you will want for nothing. The doctrine came to us from Farther India. The King of Petsi imparts it to the realm of the *mikado* in order that it may be there diffused, and that which is written in the book of Buddha be fulfilled: "My doctrine shall spread towards the East."

"That very day the *mikado* asked his minister whether the image of Buddha should or should not be worshipped. Imame answered, 'All western nations have so worshipped, why should we turn our back upon him?' But his colleague Mononabeno objected, saying, 'The native sovereigns of this realm have made it their business to celebrate the spring, the summer, the autumn, and the winter festivals of one hundred and eighty *kamis* of heaven and of earth, of provinces and of families. If we now introduce innovations, worshipping a foreign *kami*, it is to be feared that we may anger our own divinities.' 'Then,' said the *mikado*, 'it is right to do that which in his heart a man thinks right. Let Imame, then, worship the image.'

"Imame took the image and built for it a chapel. Soon afterward an epidemic disease broke out, and this being considered as a proof of the *kamis*' displeasure at the new worship, its extirpation was resolved upon. Imame's chapel was reduced to ashes, and the image thrown into the river. Buddhism, thus first announced in Japan, did not gain a firm footing there until it again sought admittance some thirty years later."

Upon this second occasion, A.D. 584, some Japanese travellers or traders brought two images of Sakya Buddha from Petsi, which the minister Mumako,

the son of Imame, and as zealous a Buddhist as his father, begged of the reigning *mikado* Sinzyun. The monarch was himself a *Siutooist* or philosopher (this sect is next to be described), but he permitted his minister to take his own course as to religion. The people, however, were less complaisant. Again the chapel was burned: it a second time was rebuilt, and a civil war ensued, during the continuance of which the *mikado* was murdered by the hired agents of his ungrateful minister. The crime appears to have been successful, for the Buddhists prevailed, and from this epoch Buddhism became the second established religion of Japan.

It gradually blended itself with *Sinsyu*, thereby modifying the doctrines of the latter; and thus was the second sect, called *Rioboo-Sinsyu*, formed. There are, on the other hand, many other sects in which Buddhism is modified by *Sinsyu*; and these varieties have probably given rise to the inconsistencies and contradictions that frequently occur in the different accounts of the latter faith, though it should be recollected that the religion of the Japanese is a subject upon which foreigners must be peculiarly liable to mistake. Farther, Buddhism itself is in Japan said to be divided into a high and pure mystic creed for the learned, and a gross idolatry for the vulgar. The *Yamaboesi* hermits are Buddhist monks, of one of the mixed sects, though, like the priests of the *Ikkosyu*, allowed to marry and to eat animal food.

The third Japanese religion is called *Siutoo*, meaning "the way of philosophers;" and which, although by all writers designated as a religion, far more resembles the dogmas of a philosophic sect, whose principles may be accommodated to almost any faith, true or false. It consists merely of the moral doctrines taught by Confucius, and of some mystic notions touching the human soul (not very unlike those of high Buddhism) totally unconnected with any mythology or any religious rites.

Siutoo, upon its introduction into Japan, is said to have been not only immediately adopted by the wise and learned, but to have been openly professed by them, accompanied by the rejection of the *Sinsyu* mythology and worship, and by utter scorn for Buddhist idolatry. But when the persecution of Christianity arose, some suspicions appear to have been conceived of *Siutoo*, as tending that way. Buddhism, on the contrary, was especially favoured, as constituting a sort of bulwark against Christianity; and thenceforward every Japanese was required to have an idol in his house: some say a Buddhist idol, others the image of his patron *kami*. The last is more probable, as Dr. Von Siebold distinctly states that at the present day the lower classes are Buddhists; the higher orders, especially the wiser among them, secretly *Siutooists*, professing to respect *Sinsyu*, and avowedly despising Buddhism; while all, *Siutooists* and Buddhists alike, are nominally *Sintoos*.

Such is said to be the present state of religion in Japan. But the subject must not be closed without noticing an account by President Meylan of a fourth religion, coexisting with these three prior to the arrival of the first Christian missionaries. He says that about A.D. 50 a Brahminical sect was introduced into Japan, the doctrines of which were the redemption of the world by the son of a virgin, who died to expiate the sins of men, thus ensuring to them a joyful resurrection; and a trinity of immaterial persons, constituting one eternal, omnipresent, omnipotent God, the Creator of all, to be adored as the source of all good and goodness.

The name of a Brahminical sect given to this faith cannot exclude the idea, as we read its tenets, that Christianity might even thus early have reached Japan, which is certainly possible, through India. But it is to be observed that neither Dr. Von Siebold, nor any other writer except Meylan, names this religion; that Fischer, in his account of Japanese Bud

dhism, states that the attributes of a beneficent Creator are ascribed to Amida, and relates much, as recorded in the life of Syaka, strangely resembling the Gospel history of our Saviour, while the date assigned to the introduction of this supposed Brahminical sect pretty accurately coincides with that of the first unsuccessful attempt to introduce Buddhism. Farther, and lastly, whoever has read anything of Hindu mythology, must be well aware that the legends of the Brahmins afford much which may easily be turned into seemingly Christian doctrine. But, whatever it may have been, this faith was too like Christianity to survive its fall, and has long since completely vanished.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF JAPAN.

Name.—Zin-mu-ten-woo first *Mikado*.—Decline of the *Mikado's* Power.—Civil War.—Yoritomo.—His Success.—He restores the nominal Power of the *Mikado*.—Yoritomo *Ziagoon*.—Ziagoonship becomes Hereditary.—Quarrels with Mongols—War.—Slaughter of Ambassadors.—Peace.—Arrival of the Portuguese.—Success of the Jesuits.—Contentions for the Ziagoonship.—Nobunaga.—Taykosama.—Favourite Japanese Hero.—His Measures of Policy.—Death.—Usurpation of Iyeyas.—Persecution of Christians.—Adoption of the present exclusive System.—Iyeyas, deified as Gongen-sama, the Founder of the reigning *Ziagoon* Dynasty.

OF the history of Japan it is needless to trouble the reader with more than the few and far-distant events out of which has grown, and upon which is based, the present condition of that empire.

We will first say a few words in reference to its name, which in Japanese is *Dai Nippon*, or “Great

Nippon :” an appellation of prodigious dignity, and referring probably to the patronage, if not the birth, of the goddess of the sun; the word *nitsu* signifying “the sun,” and *pon* or *fon* “origin;” and these, when compounded according to the Japanese rule, become Nippon or Nifon. The largest island bears the simple name of Nippon, without the *dai* or “great,” and upon this stands the Isye temple; whence it might be inferred that Nippon was the island originally fished up by the Iza-no-gi-mikoto, rather than the smaller and less holy Kiusiu; an idea which is farther strengthened by the information that Kiusiu remained independent of the *mikados* for nearly a hundred years after our era, and was not completely subjugated by them until the close of the second century. The husband of the deified amazon Singon-Kwo-gon fell in the last war against Kiusiu, and the alliance between that island and Corea compelled his widow to the conquest of the latter. The name *Japan** is derived from the Chinese form of Nippon, *Jihpun*, “origin of the sun.” Marco Polo calls the country *Zipangu* (not *Zipangri*, as most editions of his work have it), which is another European corruption of the Chinese denomination *Jih-pun-kwō*, or “kingdom of the origin of the sun.”

The mythological or legendary portion of Japanese history has been sufficiently explained in the preceding chapter, though it may be added that the whole nation claims descent from the *kami*.

What is deemed the authentic history of Japan began with the first mortal ruler, Zin-mu-ten-woo, whose name imports the “Divine Conqueror.” Accordingly, Zin-mu-ten-woo did, it is said, conquer Nippon; and, having done so, he there built a *dairi* or temple-palace, dedicated to the goddess of the sun, and founded the sovereignty of the *mikados*.

Whatever may have been his origin—whether he was a son of the last terrestrial god, hereditary monarch of Kiusiu (in which case the separation of the islands must have occurred in some subsequent civil war), or, as Klaproth thinks, a Chinese warrior and invader—from him the *mikados* even to this day derive their descent. His establishment in the absolute sovereignty of *Daï Nippon* is generally placed in the year 660 B.C.

For some centuries the *mikados*, claiming to rule by Divine right and inheritance, were to the fullest extent despotic sovereigns; and even after they had ceased to head their own armies, and intrusted the military command to sons and kinsmen, their power long remained undisputed and uncontrolled. It was, perhaps, in the first place, gradually weakened by a practice into which the *mikados* fell, of abdicating at so early an age that they transferred the sovereignty to their sons while yet children; the retired monarch, to remedy the evils consequent upon a minority, frequently governing for his young successor.

At length a *mikado* who had married the daughter of a powerful prince abdicated in favour of a son who was but three years old; and the ambitious grandfather of the infant monarch assumed the regency, placing the late sovereign in confinement. A civil war ensued, during which Yoritomo, one of the most celebrated and important personages in Japanese history, who has been already incidentally mentioned, and was seemingly a distant scion of the *mikado* stock, first appeared upon the stage. He came forward as the champion of the imprisoned ex-*mikado* against his usurping father-in-law.* The war lasted for several years, and in the course of it the incident occurred which gave rise to the second fraternity of the blind. At length Yoritomo triumphed, released the imprisoned father of the young

* Klaproth's and Titsingh's *Japanese Annals of the Ilari*.

mikado, and placed the regency in his hands; but the *fowo*, as he was called, held it only nominally, leaving the real power in the hands of Yoritomo, whom he created *sio i daï ziogoon*, or "generalissimo fighting against the barbarians." The ex-*mikado* died, and, as lieutenant or deputy of the sovereign, Yoritomo virtually governed for twenty years. His power gradually acquired stability, and at his decease he was succeeded in his title, dignity, and authority by his son.

After this a succession of infant *mikados* still farther strengthened the power of the *ziogoons*, and their office soon became so decidedly hereditary that the *Annals* begin to speak of abdicating *ziogoons*, of infant *ziogoons*, and of rival heirs contending for the *ziogoonship*. Even during the life of Yoritomo's widow, who had become a Buddhist nun upon his decease, this had advanced so far that she returned from her convent to govern for an infant *ziogoon*. She retained her authority till her own death, and is called in the *Annals of the Dairi* the *Ama Ziogoon*, or "Nun Ziogoon." She seems to be the only instance of a female *ziogoon*. But if the actual authority was wielded by these generalissimos, all the apparent and much real sovereignty (especially the power of appointing or confirming the *ziogoon*) still remained with the *mikado*. In this state, administered by a nominally autocrat emperor and a real sovereign deputy, the government of Japan continued until the latter half of the sixteenth century, the *ziogoons* being then efficient and active rulers, not the secluded and magnificent puppets of a council of state, as we see them at the present day.*

During this phasis of the Japanese empire nothing occurred tending to produce political changes, or to give birth to the present state of the government, unless the imperceptible growth of the power of the

* See chapter VIII.

ziogoons be so considered. Two incidents, however, of this period invite our attention. One of them, the last in point of time, is the arrival of the Portuguese; the other, which preceded it by some centuries, the war with the Mongols, is in three different particulars worthy of notice: first, it is the only attempt of which we have any knowledge at invading Japan, secondly, in it occurred the first recorded authorized murder of ambassadors; and, thirdly, the account of the quarrel and the war, as given by Siebold, is extracted from a very old Japanese annalist, another of more recent date, and from an encyclopedia. These various accounts, differing in some minute particulars, it seems best to blend into a continuous narrative, without pausing to notice the precise portion belonging to each.

“Kublai Khan had no sooner ascended the Mongol throne than he turned his eyes upon distant Nippon, and resolved that, like Kaou-le” (one of the petty Corean kingdoms), “it should become a vassal state of his mighty and growing empire. In 1268 he called upon the sovereign of Nippon to form an alliance professedly offensive and defensive with him. His invitation was conveyed in the following letter: “The exalted Emperor of the Mongols to the Wang (king) of Nippon.

“I am the prince of a formerly small state, to which the adjacent lands have united themselves, and my endeavour is to make inviolable truth and friendship reign among us. What is more, my ancestors have, in virtue of their splendid warrant from Heaven, taken possession of the Hia dominions. The number of the distant countries, of the remote cities that fear our power and love our virtue, passes computation.

“When I ascended the throne, the harmless people of Kaou-le were suffering under the calamities of war. I immediately ordered a cessation of hostilities, recalling the troops from beyond the frontiers

to the encampment of their colours. The Prince of Kaoli and his subjects appeared at my court to give me thanks, and I treated them kindly, as a father treats his children. So I intend that your servants shall be treated. Kaou-le is my eastern frontier; Nippon lies near, and has from the beginning held intercourse with the Central Empire." (China was at this period in great part, but not wholly, subjugated by the Mongols.) "But during my reign not a single envoy has appeared to open a friendly intercourse with me. I apprehend that this state of things is not, as yet, well known in your country, wherefore I send envoys with a letter to make you acquainted with my views, and I hope we may understand each other. Already philosophers desire to see the whole world form one family. But how may this one-family principle be carried into effect if friendly intercourse subsist not between the parties? I am resolved to call this principle into existence, even should I be obliged to do so by force of arms. It is now the business of the *Wang* of Nippon to decide what course is most agreeable to him.'"

This letter, the last sentences of which indicate the absolute filial obedience, both active and passive, which Kublai Khan intended his one universal family should render to its head, himself, appears to have caused great perplexity in Japan, insomuch that the *ziogoon* sent it to the *mikado*, and both potentates deliberated with their respective councils upon the answer proper to be returned. But perhaps we may consider this reference as merely one of the ceremonious observances paid the *Son of Heaven*. Or is it to be inferred from this and the similar proceeding in the case of the Russians,* that the sovereign by right divine, the representative of the Sun goddess, must in fact give his sanction to any step that may possibly provoke war? Be this as

it may, the *mikado* caused an answer to be prepared, the tenour of which is not stated; but the *ziogoon* deemed silent contempt the more becoming, or, to use the language of the Mongol emperor, the most agreeable course, and it was adopted. The envoys, who had not been permitted to visit either court, were dismissed without any answer by the governor of Daisaifu; and two other missions, sent by Kublai Khan in the years 1271 and 1273, were treated with similar contumely. But the haughty conqueror was not to be thus treated with impunity, and in 1274 a Mongol-Chinese fleet, with a contingent from Kaou-le, appeared off the island of Tsuzima. But the preceding correspondence (if, being all on one side, it may be so called) had put the Japanese upon their guard, and the *ziogoon* had ordered every requisite measure of defence along the coast, while the *mikado*, upon receiving tidings of the enemy's approach, set apart days for general prayer, to implore the aid and protection of the gods. The oldest of the Japanese annalists says that the hostile leaders did not venture on a serious attack, but, after hovering for a while about the coast without any apparent purpose, retreated, committing what ravages they conveniently could in Kiusiu. But the other two authorities which speak of these events state that a battle was fought either in Tsuzima or off Iki, in which the Mongols were repulsed, if not absolutely defeated; and that the principal cause of their final discomfiture was their having expended their whole stock of arrows.

However this may be, the attempt had exasperated the not very placable temper of the Japanese, and subsequent Mongol missions suffered accordingly; not, however, without due warning. In 1275, envoys from Kublai Khan again presented themselves in Japan, and instead of being, as before, contemptuously dismissed by a governor, were immediately ordered to Kamakura, at that time the residence of

the *ziogoon*. They were admitted into his presence, but only to hear from him a sentence of banishment against themselves, and of future exclusion against all their countrymen. It was in these words : "Henceforward no Mongol subject shall set foot upon the soil of *Dai Nippon*, under pain of death." In virtue of this law, the members of the next two embassies, sent in the years 1276 and 1279, were to a man beheaded.

But no sooner had the Mongol emperor achieved the complete subjugation of China, A.D. 1280, than he prepared to take vengeance upon the contumacious Japanese. Accordingly, the following year he equipped a new armament to invade and subdue the refractory realm. In the 5th month, the Kaou-le-Chinese fleet, with a hundred thousand soldiers on board, appeared off Firato and steered for Iki. There the measures for defence were no less vigorous than they had been at Tsuzima, the Japanese no less stout-hearted, the public prayers ordered by the *mikado* no less fervent or general, and again the Mongols hesitated to attack seriously ; the reason of which, however, according to the later authorities, was the illness of their commander. The elements also fought for the Japanese, leaving to their valour only the inglorious work of putting to death helpless and unresisting enemies. On the 1st of the 8th month a hurricane arose that scattered the fleet, and dashed a great number of the hostile vessels upon that rocky and dangerous coast. The troops and crews sought refuge on shore, where three days afterward those men, seemingly formidable from their numbers, but mostly without arms, and broken-spirited with hunger and fatigue, were, after a short struggle, slaughtered or made prisoners. The latter, amounting to thirty thousand, were taken to Fakota and there put to the sword. Three individuals only were spared, and that not in mercy, but in order that they might report to Kublai Khan the fate of his

armament, and the inexorable severity with which the law was administered in Daï Nippon.

During the continuance of the Mongol domination over China and the adjacent states, Japan strictly prohibited all intercourse with them, rigorously enforcing the law of proscription denounced against the subjects of the Mongols. Upon the downfall of the barbarian conquerors some hundred years later, she entered into amicable relations with the restored dynasty of the central empire, and afterward, by their mediation, with Corea. With both countries the intercourse, commercial and other, was replaced upon its previous footing.

Between two and three hundred years after this threatened invasion, the Portuguese first appeared off Japan, one of their vessels being driven by contrary winds from her intended course, and thrown upon that then unknown coast. The account of this occurrence, likewise, Siebold gives in an extract from one of the national annalists: "Under the *Mikado* Konaru and the *Ziagoon* Yosi-hao, in the twelfth year of the *Nengo Tenbun*, on the twenty-second day of the eighth month (October, 1543), a strange ship made the island Tanega-zima,* near Koura, in the remote province Nisimura. The crew, about two hundred in number, had a singular appearance: their language was unintelligible, their native land unknown. On board was a Chinese named Go-hou, who understood writing: from him it was gathered that this was a *nan-ban* ship ("southern barbarian," in the Japanese form of the Chinese words *nan-man*). On the 26th this vessel was taken to Aku-oki harbour, on the northwest side of the island, and Tokitaka, governor of Tanega-zima, instituted a strict investigation concerning her, the Japanese bonze Tsyu-syu-zu acting as interpreter, by means of Chinese characters. On board the *nan-ban* ship

* See Note XXIII.

were two commanders, Mura-syukya and Krista-moota; they had firearms, and first made the Japanese acquainted with shooting-arms and the preparation of shooting-powder."

The Japanese have preserved portraits (and curious specimens of the graphic art they are) of Mura-syuka and Krista-moota, who are supposed to have been Antonio Mota and Francesco Zeimoto, the first Portuguese known to have landed in Japan.

The Japanese were at this time a mercantile people, carrying on an active and lucrative commerce with, it is said, sixteen different countries. They gladly welcomed the strangers, who brought them new manufactures and new wares; they trafficked freely with them, and, ere long, even gave their daughters in marriage to such as settled among them. The Jesuit missionaries who soon followed the first visitors were equally well received, and permitted to preach to the people without interruption. The extraordinary and rapid success of the fathers, which has been already mentioned, is ascribed by some writers to reverence for their superior scientific knowledge, to a desire in the lower orders to profit by the charity they inculcated, and in the higher classes to attract the trade of the Portuguese to their dominions. But, whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that even at Miyako, in the vicinity of the *dairi*, if not in the *dairi* itself, they boasted proselytes. These bright prospects, however, were blighted by the civil war, which had seemed for a moment to promise the complete triumph of Christianity in Japan. Of this war and its origin some account will be here given.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, two brothers, of the race of Yoritomo, contended for the *ziogoonship*; the princes of the empire took part on either side, or sometimes against both, striving to render themselves independent; and civil strife raged throughout Japan. In the course of these hos-

tilities both the rival brothers perished, and the **vas-**sals now contended for the vacant throne.

The ablest and mightiest among them was Nobunaga, prince of Owari, the champion of one of the rival brothers so long as he lived. After the death of the claimant whom he had supported, he set up for himself, and was powerfully aided by the courage and talents of an individual of mean birth, whose name was Hide-yosi or Fide-yosi, as it is indiscriminately spelled. But as this person is one of the most remarkable as well as most admired characters in Japanese history, a few words will be said concerning him. His parentage was so obscure as to have been a controverted question even in his own time. He is reported to have gained the favour of his first master by his skill and economy in fire-making; and when attending this master on a hunting-party of Prince Nobunaga, he attracted the notice of the latter by boldly and gracefully climbing a tree that no other durst attempt, to recover a fine hawk entangled on the top by its vervel. Thenceforth he attached himself to this prince's service, and gradually gained his confidence. The Prince of Owari triumphed over all his opponents and became *ziogoon*, the *mikado* confirming to the victor a dignity that he felt himself unable to withhold. The new *ziogoon* recompensed Hide-yosi's services by investing him with high military office, and showed himself a warm friend to the Christians and the missionaries.

In process of time Nobunaga was murdered in a spot near Miyako, thence called the Imperial Blood Grove,* by an aspiring usurper, who thus possessed himself of the *ziogoonship*. The murderer was in his turn shortly afterward despatched, and amid the confusion that ensued Hide-yosi seized upon the coveted dignity. The *mikado* again, without hesita-

* Ogilby.

tion, acknowledged the conqueror as *ziogoon* under his newly-assumed name of Tayko or Tayko-sama (the Lord Tayko).

Tayko retained upon the throne the energies and the warlike spirit that had enabled him to ascend it : he has been accused of cruelty, but this seems to have been no more than the reckless severity in punishment natural to the Japanese, and perhaps almost necessary to a usurper. He is still considered by the Japanese as nearly, if not quite, the most renowned of their heroes. It was he who made the greatest progress in reducing the power of the *mikado* to the mere shadow of a sovereignty ; with him originated the system, already described, of enthralling the princes of the empire ; he recovered Corea, which had emancipated itself since its conquest by the Empress Sin-gou-kwo-gou ; and he had even announced his intention of conquering China, when his career was arrested by death, at the age of sixty-three, in the year 1598. Tayko-sama's only son Hide-yori was a child of six years old ; and to him, upon his deathbed, he thought to secure the succession by marrying him to the granddaughter of Iyeyas (or, as some write it, Yeyeyasou), the powerful Prince of Micava, his particular friend and confidential counsellor, whom he had rewarded with three additional principalities. He obtained from Iyeyas a solemn promise to procure the recognition of Hide-yori as *ziogoon* so soon as the boy should have completed his fifteenth year.

The death of Tayko-sama, leaving a mere infant as his heir, was the signal for a renewal by the vassal princes of their efforts to emancipate themselves from the yoke, nominally of the *mikado*, but really of the *ziogoon* ; while the ambitious and treacherous Iyeyas, who had long aspired to the office he had promised to secure to his granddaughter's husband, secretly fomented disorders so propitious to his designs. As regent for Hide-yori, he gradually ex-

torted higher and higher titles from the *mikado*, till at length, encouraged by success, he threw off the mask. He now demanded and obtained the dignity of *ziogoon*, and waged open war upon the ward to whom he was bound by so many ties, and to whom he had solemnly sworn allegiance. Hide-yori was supported by all the Japanese Christians, whose zeal in behalf of the son of the admired and regretted Tayko-sama was, to say the least, warmly approved and encouraged by the Jesuits; and the reverend fathers had good cause to exert themselves strenuously on his side, independent of any persuasion of the justice of his cause, as so much favour was shown them by the young prince that they indulged the flattering hope of seeing him, ere long, openly profess Christianity, and, should he triumph, that he would make it the established religion of Japan.

For a while Hide-yori is said to have lived magnificently, though as a private individual, at Ohosaki; but in 1615 Iyeyas besieged him in the castle, which was his last remaining stronghold, and took it as perfidiously, it is said, as he had gained the *ziogoonship*. Over the fate of the unhappy Hide-yori a veil of mystery hangs. According to some accounts, he set fire to the castle when he found it betrayed into his enemy's hands, and perished in the flames; according to others, he effected his escape amid the confusion caused by the conflagration, and made his way to the principal city of Satzuma, where his posterity is still believed to exist. It is certain that the princes of Satzuma are much courted by the *ziogoons*, who ever seek their daughters as wives. The consort of the present *ziogoon* is a Satzuma princess.

Iyeyas, who in the progress of his usurpation had successively taken the names of Daifoesama and Ongonchio, had now only to secure the *ziogoonship* to himself and his posterity. For this purpose he confirmed all the measures devised by Tayko-sama

for ensuring the fidelity of the princes, bestowed many confiscated principalities upon his partisans and his younger sons, and weakened all, as far as he could, by dismemberment. He deprived the *mikado* of even the little power that Tayko-sama had left him, reducing him to the utter helplessness and dependance which have been described as his present condition ; and at length he proceeded to persecute his rival's supporters, the native Christians and foreign missionaries, which Siebold ascribes to political and not to religious motives on the part of the new Japanese potentate, and which, in the reign of his successor, resulted in the system of exclusion still followed in Japan. A Portuguese embassy being sent to remonstrate against this policy, the persons composing it were put to death, as had been those of the Mongol embassy in the thirteenth century, two only being spared to carry home the tale, as a warning against repeating the offence.

Iyeyas, upon his death, was deified by the *mikado* under the name of Gongen-sama ; and his policy proved successful. His posterity still hold the *ziogoonship* in undisturbed tranquillity ; and, although so degenerated from the energy and talent of their ancestor that they have suffered the power to fall from their own hands into that of their ministers, the change is one which they perhaps, unconscious of its degradation, feel gratifying to their pride as well as their indolence.

Every writer belonging to the Dutch factory, the members of which possess the best attainable means of information, states that rebellion has been prevented by this imbecile condition of the princes, and that the empire, since the suppression of the Arima insurrection, the extirpation of Christianity, and the exclusion of foreigners, has enjoyed profound peace, internal as well as external. Dr. Parker informs us, indeed, in his journal, that he was assured rebellion was everywhere raging ; but when it is considered

that he was driven away in a hostile manner, without being suffered even to set foot on shore, but little reliance can be placed, we think, upon such hearsay information. If any farther change is to be anticipated in the government of Japan, it will probably be, that the hereditary prime minister will play against the *ziogoons* the same game which they played against the *mikados*, abandon Yedo to the generalissimo, as Miyako is abandoned to the *Son of Heaven*, and establish elsewhere a third court of the vicegerent's vicegerent, the real governor of the empire. But of such a change open rebellion would hardly be the instrument. Like the superseding of the *mikados* by the *ziogoons*, it would probably take place without violence, in the gradual development and progress of the existing system.

CHAPTER XV.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA.

Relations between Japan and China.—Chinese Assumption of Sovereignty.—Corean Narrative of a Japanese Embassy to China.—Ambassador's Audience.—Treatment.—Chinese Visit to Japan.—Japanese Literati in China.—Chinese Attempts to Establish Sovereignty over Japan.—Hideyosi's Resentment.—War with China in and for Corea.—Peace.—Commercial and Friendly Intercourse.—Narrative of Japanese Traders.—Their Capture.—Treatment in Tartary.—At Peking.—In Corea.—Their Remarks.—Return Home.—Formalities.

THE relations of Japan with China, though now restricted within the same narrow limits as those with Holland, appear to have long been intimate and active, always, it need hardly be said, of a nature characteristic of those two extraordinary coun-

tries, but by no means always friendly. The Central Empire, as China is named by the Japanese writers, seems from the first to have entertained a thorough conviction of her own superiority, of her right to sovereignty over Daï Nippon, as over all other neighbouring states, and seldom to have missed a favourable opportunity of advancing and enforcing her pretensions; while the high-minded Japanese, who esteem it derogatory to be even compared to the Chinese, acknowledge no inferiority, moral, physical, or political, except in their numbers, and in the superficial extent of their territory. In letters indeed, as in the arts and sciences, they cannot deny that China formerly took precedence of them, inasmuch as the fact that they originally received these from China is not only asserted in the annals of that country, but is also admitted as well in their own chronicles of ancient date as by their learned men of the present day. According to the Chinese accounts, civilization was carried to Japan by a somewhat singular sort of Chinese colony. The story told is, that in the second century of our era, the lord of the Central Empire, having understood that the herb of immortality grew in Japan, and cherishing an aversion for death, sent thither three thousand boys and girls to seek for and bring home this wonderful medicinal vegetable. But, instead of obeying their instructions, the whole three thousand settled in Japan, in consequence, it may be suspected, of their inability to find the desired plant, and their dread of returning home without having accomplished the object of their errand. Of this legend, however, no trace is said to be found in the Japanese annals, which, like the living Japanese literati, represent the Corean peninsula as the channel through which Chinese letters and science, as well as religion, reached Japan: an opinion confirmed by divers trifling circumstances, some of which have been mentioned in their proper places.

Upon the several topics comprised under the head of international relations, Dr. Von Siebold has collected native opinions and statements, and presented them to the European world in the form of extracts from different Japanese historical works. These, together with those upon the religion and history of Japan which have been given in the chapters treating of those subjects, will present a fair sample of Japanese taste and proficiency in literature. The most amusing and instructive of those relating to the intercourse between Japan and China, affording glimpses of the manners and customs of either empire, will furnish matter for the present chapter.

The pretensions of the Central Empire to sovereignty over Dai Nippon evidently date from very remote times, possibly from its conquest by Zin-mutan-woo; but it is on record that the Emperor of China, in the second century of the Christian era, if not four hundred years earlier, sent to the heaven-descended sovereign of the insular empire, the heir and representative of the goddess of the sun, a diploma appointing him *Wang* of Nippon. This politic mode of asserting the claim was adopted, it would seem, whenever a civil war in Japan afforded an opportunity of supporting one of the contending parties as a vassal of China. No direct acts of aggression seem ever to have been resorted to to enforce these pretensions, and thus no occasion was given for war, the solitary attempt to conquer or invade Japan here recorded having been made by the Mongols; and though the invading armament be called Chinese, it was so only because the Mongols had previously conquered China. The two empires were indeed engaged in frequent hostilities, but these were uniformly carried on in Corea, and arose either from a contest for the sovereignty of that peninsula, or, more commonly, from their interference in the dissensions of the several states into

which it was long divided, these states being the dependant allies either of Japan or China.

Of commercial intercourse little mention is made until after the Mongol invasion; but old chroniclers even in Europe disdained to record affairs of trade, and the sovereign contempt entertained by the Japanese for so vulgarly useful a matter would naturally exclude it from the pages of their men of letters. The mention that does occur, however, indicates that the two nations had long been engaged in commerce with each other; and the habitual frequency of their intercourse may be inferred from a circumstance stated by the early European visitors of Japan, in the days when strangers were welcome there. It is that the infamous tea-houses there attracted great numbers of the Chinese to Japan, for the indulgence of vices which at home they were restrained from openly practising by severe prohibitory laws. It is said, also, that the immense expenditure of these profligate guests rendered them the more welcome.

The first Japanese extract that deserves notice is the account of an embassy to China in the year 659; and this is interesting in itself, independent of the subject. The narrative is written by a Korean; and, if the German title of *ein Gelehrte* (a man of learning) be rightly applied to him, it furnishes proof of a state of society then existing in Corea hardly to have been looked for. It is entitled the Journal of Yukino Murazi of Petsi, and is preserved in one of the chronicles of Japanese history, extending from 661 B.C. to A.D. 696, called the *Nipponki*, published A.D. 720, and forming thirty goodly volumes. This *Nipponki*, a later chronicle (which, under the title of an Historical Survey, was published in seven volumes at Ohosaka, A.D. 1795, beginning at 661 B.C., and bringing down the annals of Japan to A.D. 1611), and one of the Encyclopædias already described, are the works from which

Siebold has taken most of the extracts in his new numbers.

The less interesting introductory statements may be given in a few words. The ambassadors, Ivasiki and Kisa, sailed in separate ships from Ohosaka on the 3d of the 9th month of the year 659, taking with them a couple of native Yezoites, in order to amuse his Celestial Majesty, it would seem, by the exhibition of these savages. They encountered such adverse winds and violent tempests that Ivasiki was driven upon an island, where the ship, crew, and passengers were seized, a small party only escaping in their boat. The more fortunate Kisa, with whom was Yukino Murazi, was nine weeks at sea.

"We made Hoai-ngan-shan," says the Journal, "upon the 15th of the 9th month, but, owing to a strong northeasterly wind, did not reach Yu-gao-hëen (now Tche-keang) until the 23d. As our vessel drew too much water, we left her here with her cargo, and on the 1st of the 10th month (it was the intercalary month) repaired to Yue-shan, whence, a fortnight later, we set forward on horseback for the eastern capital of China. We arrived at the place of our destination on the 19th, and, as the court was then resident there, were presented to the emperor the next day. The questions he put to our ambassadors and their answers were as follows :

"Does the Divine Autocrat enjoy constant repose?" "Heaven and earth unite to shower blessings upon him, and constant repose follows of course." "Are the officers of the realm well appointed and prosperous?" "The favour of Tenwo streams upon them, so that they may confidently answer for themselves." "Does internal tranquillity prevail?" "The government is in unison with Heaven and earth, and the people have no anxieties." "Where lies the country of these Yezoites?" "To the northeast." "How many kinds of them are there?" "Three; the most remote of them we call Tsugaru, the next Ara Yezo

(the untamed), and those nearest to us Nikí Yezo (the boiled down); these are Niki Yezoites. Yearly they bring tribute to our court.' 'Does their country produce corn?' 'No; the inhabitants live upon animal food.' 'Have they houses?' 'No; they dwell under the trees in the mountains.' When the emperor had expressed his astonishment at the strange appearance of the Yezoites, we were dismissed. The Yezoites, on their part, presented a white deer-skin, with a bow and eighty arrows, as their offering to the emperor.

"We were now taken to an inn, to rest after the fatigues of our journey. On the 1st of the 11th month, when there was a great assembly at court to celebrate the festival of the winter solstice, we were invited thither, and ours was the most numerous of all the foreign missions. We were not invited again. Two of our people set a house on fire, which was the cause of much annoyance to us. They were punished with exile. On the 1st of the 12th month it was formally announced to us that we could not be permitted to return to our home in the East, as the resolution had been taken to impose laws upon our countrymen on the east of the sea the following year."

As the political object of this mission is nowhere even alluded to, we are left to conjecture whether it had any reference to the hostile designs of the Chinese, and whether these designs were limited merely to Corea, or extended to the conquest of Japan. It appears, however, that the conquest of the Korean state of Petsi were their only result. It may be here observed, that though diplomatic inviolability forms no part of the law of nations according to the Oriental code, the Chinese treatment of obnoxious ambassadors is far milder than that adopted by the Japanese. But to return to the Korean journalist.

"We were now taken to the western capital, and there kept in close custody. In this hard condition

we passed the greater part of the year. In the 8th month of the year *King-shin* (660) Petsi was conquered, and on the 12th of the 9th month we were set at liberty. On the 19th we quitted the western for the eastern capital, which we reached on the 16th of the 10th month, and there met our countrymen and colleagues, who had escaped in their boat to China. On the 1st of the 11th month there came a detachment from the army, with the captive king of Petsi and his court—about thirty persons—who were brought in all haste to the emperor. We were again presented at court, and then dismissed. We left the capital the 24th, and on the 25th of the 1st month (a month's ride between the two capitals, and two months' from the eastern capital to the seaport) reached Yue-shan, whence we set sail on the 1st of the 4th month. We passed along the south side of Ching-gan-shan on the 7th, and next morning ran out to sea, with a propitious breeze from the southwest.

“Before night of the 9th we made the island of Tanra, where we prevailed upon some of the inhabitants—among others, the king's son Abaki—to accompany us. We brought them, nine persons in all, to the court of the *mikado*, then held at Asakura in Tosi, where we arrived on the 23d of the 5th month (661). This was the first time that men of Tanra ever waited upon the *mikado* to do him reverence.”

The next passage worthy of notice, also taken from the *Nipponki*, is the mention of a Chinese visit to Japan, the object of which is not stated, but in which the conduct of the visiter would appear to contradict the idea of any permanent assumption of sovereignty on the part of the Central Empire. Perhaps a treaty upon terms of equality might have been negotiated after the conquest of Petsi by the Chinese.

“1672, 3d month. A division of the Chinese fleet, consisting of forty-seven junks, with two thousand

mer on board, from the island of Fitsi, landed on the coast of 'Tsukusi (Fizen). They had previously given the Prince of 'Tsuzima notice of their coming, that they might not be deemed enemies. Upon their landing they put on mourning garments for the death of the *mikado*, and took upon themselves the performance of an homage-doing ceremony to his successor, by bowing towards the rising sun. They were presented with silk stuffs, and soon afterward set sail again."

The passage that follows this intimates the general superiority of China over Japan in point of learning. We are there told that in the year 716 two students visited the Central Empire for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, both being at the time between twenty and thirty years of age. The one, named Simo-mitsi-no-Mabi, returned home after an absence of nineteen years, and, under the designation of Kibino Daisi, became the most celebrated of all the learned men to whom Japan has given birth. The other was so honoured in China that he there obtained the appointment of Keeper of the Archives, which he held for sixty-one years, and during this time lived in social or scientific relations with all the distinguished Chinese philosophers of the day. At length he was seized with *nostalgia*, and, embarking for Japan at the age of eighty-seven, is said to have been lost at sea in a storm.

It would be useless to enumerate the various visits of this latter kind to the Central Empire, especially by Japanese Buddhist priests, seeking religious instruction more profound than their own country could then afford in the dogmas of their religion. Neither, turning to political relations, can European readers feel much curiosity respecting the frequent closing of the Chinese ports against the contagion of the civil wars in Japan, or the ever-recurring hostilities in Corea, where the small states were constantly striving to subjugate each other. while all were really

subject to one or the other of their powerful neighbours, which the peninsula, even when united into one kingdom, under the Chinese name of *Chao-sëen*, or morning's brightness, proved unable to resist. The war most deserving of notice is undoubtedly the Mongol-Chinese attempt to subdue Japan to the yoke then being imposed upon China and Corea, of which some account was given in the last chapter; and of that, which was Mongol rather than Chinese, nothing farther need be said. The *Nipponki*, a Japanese Encyclopedia, and a later work, which, under the title of Historical Survey, was published in seven volumes at Ohosaka in 1795, beginning from the same date as the *Nipponki*, bring down the annals of Japan to the year 1611.

The next subject that claims attention is the interference of China in the affairs of Japan, with a view to establish her sovereignty over it. Of this many instances occurred, the earliest recorded of which has been already mentioned. In the intestine wars of which Japan was so frequently the theatre, on . party often applied to the Emperor of China for aid and seldom applied in vain; and the aid thus bestowed was usually, as we have before remarked, accompanied by a diploma appointing the favoured chief *Wang* of Nippon. The most remarkable case of this assumption of superior authority was in the *ziogoonship* of Hideyosi, *alias* Tayko-sama. It will be recollected that he invaded Corea soon after he had possessed himself of the power for which he had contended against so many rivals; his object being in part to occupy the restless spirits who had been engaged in the civil war, and also to extend his dominions, and chastise a refractory dependency. China defended the peninsula, which she claimed as her own; and a war with her accordingly ensued. A treaty of peace having been at length concluded, the Emperor Tai Ming sent a professedly complimentary embassy to the *ziogoon*, whom he designated

as his vassal the *Wang* of Nippon. Hearing this, the indignant Hideyosi exclaimed, "Sovereign of Nippon I have already made myself, and, if it comes to this, I will turn over a new leaf, and make Tai Ming *my* vassal." The rupture of the lately concluded peace and a second invasion of Corea were the fruits of his resentment, and the war ceased only with the *ziogoon's* life.

In 1607 a Chinese embassy visited Japan, and friendly relations were restored between the two empires; the Chinese being permitted to trade, and for that purpose to establish a factory at Nagasaki. Some time, however, elapsed before peace was established with Corea. At length, in 1615, the *Ziogoon* Iyeyas concluded with that peninsula, its different states being united under the general name of Chao-sëen, a treaty, by which it was agreed, not, as we have been elsewhere told, that a mission to do homage should be sent from Corea to Japan upon the accession of every new *ziogoon*, but that reciprocal embassies of congratulation should be sent upon every accession of a new monarch in either state, and that the Prince of 'Tsuzima should be allowed to establish a commercial factory in Corea. That this factory was subjected to restrictions analogous to those imposed upon foreigners in Japan will appear in the course of the next extract, with which we shall close this chapter. Before proceeding to translate it, however, we may make the remark, that the terms of this treaty do not look much like the acknowledgment of vassalage on the part of Chao-sëen, or the payment of tribute to Daï Nippon.

The passage in question is a narrative of the adventures of a party of Japanese traders, who were made prisoners by the Tartar subjects of the Mantchoo Emperor of China. It was written by one of the party, and is preserved in a History of Chao-sëen published at Yedo. The occurrences took

place in the year 1645, when the exclusive system had been adopted with respect to Europeans, but had not as yet, it would seem, been extended to Asiatics.

“From the earliest times,” says the narrator, “the inhabitants of the coast-towns Sinbo and Mikuni-ura, in the province of Yetsizen, have been accustomed, at the close of winter, to pass over to the dependencies of Japan, there to trade. In 1645 vessels were equipped for this purpose, with three of which Take-utsi Tosaimon, his son Tezo, and the ship-master Kunida Fiosayemon, sailed on the 1st of the fourth month. The crews amounted to fifty-eight persons, among whom was the writer of this narrative. * * * *

All on board were in the gayest mood, when in the night a sudden storm arose, and, before an attempt could be made at anchoring, hurried away the ships. Upon the 15th or 16th day, as the wind fell, we found ourselves driving towards an unknown mountainous coast. We carefully examined it, but could perceive neither houses nor inhabitants. We lowered the boats, took in fresh water, and cooked for ourselves a meal. Then we cut down timber to repair our damaged vessel, which occupied us about ten days. This done, we set sail to return home” (apparently abandoning their commercial speculation). “But again the wind changed, and carried us yet farther to the westward, towards a high coast, where we ran into a creek. Immediately we saw sixty men, in as many small boats, rowing towards us. They called to us, but we did not understand them, and they turned back. Soon afterward three of them, keeping close together, again rowed within reach of the ship, and, upon our invitation, came on board. We offered the strangers food and *sakee*, which they refused; when we, to show the harmlessness of the things, tasted them ourselves, and then again offering them, they ate and drank with us unhesitatingly.

“One of them drew a piece of *ginseng* from his

bosom, and, pointing to a kettle, gave us to understand that he wished to trade. This article proved to be unprepared Chinese *ginseng*, and we agreed to his proposal. Then it occurred to us that we should like to see the place where this plant is produced, and we signified by gestures that we would give him rice if he would show us the region where the *ginseng* grows. He nodded his head, pointed to the mountains, imitated the crowing of a cock, and returned on shore with his comrades.

“As we had anticipated from his signs, at day-break the same three men again presented themselves. Fourteen of our party remained with the ships, the rest set off for the mountains. All were unarmed; for during the storm we had made a vow to the sea-god to sacrifice our weapons by throwing them into the water so our lives might be spared, and that vow we had religiously fulfilled. After being led a little way inland through a thicket of tall reeds, the Japanese heard yells on every side. They were quickly surrounded, and a tempest of arrows hailed upon them. Without arms, resistance was impossible. They fled in every direction; but in a few minutes the greater part, pierced with arrows, lay dead upon the ground. Thirteen only managed to hide themselves among the reeds; but they were speedily sought after, dragged out, and bound together two and two. The whole body, seemingly a thousand strong, now hurried down to the shore and fell upon the ships. Here ten more Japanese were slain with arrows, and Fiosayemon's vessel was set on fire. He leaped into the sea, where, rising and sinking, he was already struggling with death, when the stranger of the preceding day, he who had promised to show us the *ginseng* ground, ran forward, repelled the assailants, and dragged Fiosayemon out of the water. He likewise rescued Fiosayemon's son, then fourteen years old. The ships were clean plundered, and everything was car-

ried off. The surviving Japanese, fifteen out of fifty-eight, were distributed singly in different dwellings. We were sent out into the fields to gather herbs. We afterward learned the name of the land: it was the coast of Tartary.*

“A report of this massacre of the Japanese at length reached the governor of the country, and ten subaltern officials appeared among us, sent to investigate the affair. They were indignant at the illegal concealment of the whole transaction; summoned the three chiefs of the place, and took them, together with ourselves, to the Tartar capital. We travelled on horseback with a military escort, and completed the journey upon the 25th day. We were taken at once before the governor, who began the examination in great anger. He demanded of the local chiefs why they had not communicated so important an occurrence to the government. How had they dared to kill so many men upon their own authority? The chiefs answered that they took us for Japanese robbers, and therefore attacked us, killing our friends. This explanation, however, was not satisfactory, and he ordered for each one of them a hundred and fifty strokes of the bamboo. This done, he questioned us by signs; whereupon Fiosayemon, taking out his nose-papers, blew away a leaf, to indicate that we were driven to this coast by the wind. He then sat down in a peaceful attitude, to intimate that we were merchants, not robbers or pirates, which he also expressed in words. The governor seemed to understand him. He gave us Tartar clothes, and explained to us that we must be taken to Pekin, and there solicit the emperor's permission to return home. He spoke kindly to us, saying we had nothing to fear, and we gave him thanks.

“Shortly afterward we set out for Pekin, accom-

* See Note XXIV.

panied by Tartar officers. This journey likewise we performed on horseback, and it occupied forty days. Immediately upon our arrival we were taken before the governor, to whom a report of our misfortune was made. He then sent us to an inn, where we were assigned three servants to wait on us, and each man was given daily a ration of rice, a pound of pork, barley-meal, rice-beer, tea, poultry, fish, salt, wood, &c. We were likewise supplied with clothes, bedding, and the like; and we spent a long time there.

“In the 5th month of the following year, having made ourselves more familiar with the Chinese tongue, we addressed a petition to the governor, entreating his permission to return home. He answered, ‘Your business is before the emperor, who has inquired into the whole of your misadventure. Nippon understands the administration of justice and the conduct of war; it is a land wherein virtue and humanity reign. Therefore has the emperor expressly commanded that you should wait for nothing until your return thither. For that you must await his pleasure.’ With tears we expressed our thanks for the imperial goodness, and looked hopefully forward to the decision of our fate.

“Upon the 5th of the 11th month of this same year we were again called before the governor, who informed us that our petition of last summer was granted, and he had orders to despatch us by the 10th, sending an escort with us to Chao-sëen. In the emperor’s name he made us presents of sheepskins, fur garments, and shoes. Our joy was unbounded; we returned heartfelt thanks for the emperor’s goodness, and withdrew to our inn.

“On the 10th the governor sent us twenty sheep, rice, beer, and pastry, as a farewell present, with information that the next day was appointed for our departure. In the morning there came three officers, with many horses, and conducted us to the

Court of Justice, where the governor took a survey of us ; then, touched by our gratitude, with kindly condescension he wished us a happy return home, and, as he gave the officers the necessary travelling papers, recommended to them the greatest care of the strangers committed to their charge. We mounted and set off. First was carried a great dragon-standard, then eight smaller red and four white flags. The Japanese, conducted by two officers, followed in three lines ; and before each line were borne an umbrella, a pike, and other weapons. A guard of a hundred men surrounded the cavalcade, which left Pekin in grand style. * * * *

“ As we approached Liaotung the cold grew more severe ; the snow rendered the roads almost impassable ; and we found the river *Ta-leou-shuy*, there 343 *metres* broad, frozen over as far as the eye could reach. Men and horses crossed it as if upon dry ground, and we proceeded to the frontier river of *Chao-sëen*, *Yalu-keang*, which was likewise frozen. This and two more frozen rivers we also crossed upon the ice, and upon the banks of the last found a body of two hundred Koreans awaiting us, with horses ready saddled. The Pekin commander delivered us and the imperial mandate over to the Korean officer, and our Pekin escort, all but ten men, left us. This took place on the 9th of the 12th month. * * * *

“ In a wide-spreading plain, full of groups of various kinds of trees, stands the capital, which we reached on the 28th. As our arrival had been previously announced, officers of government came forth to meet us, who first welcomed our Pekin escort, then, turning to us, said that we were punctual to the appointed hour, and the royal edifice *Tung-phing-kwan* was prepared for our reception. We were led straight to a hall, the walls of which were painted with landscapes, beasts, birds, and plants, and in places decorated with gold-dust and gold leaf. The

pictures were so various and so beautiful that their sight astonished us. On both sides of the hall were seats covered with tiger-skins, upon which we were desired to sit. A large wooden table, set out with artificial flowers, was then brought in, as also two smaller ones, over which were thrown red carpets of felt that hung down to the ground, thus concealing the feet of those who sat at them. One table displayed fish and muscles, decorated with artificial flowers; also poultry, beef, and mutton. The table-service was chiefly of porcelain and tin. Upon the other table were cakes and various kinds of confectionery, with spoons and chopsticks.

“The servants, of whom there were sixty or seventy, invited us and our Pekin companions to eat. But we, unacquainted as yet with the forms of a Korean repast, kept ourselves quiet, watching the officer, who had taken the middle seat. No one would begin. The servants pressed us more and more urgently, and at length one of us, who sat at the upper end, in some confusion took hold of a wheaten cake, when all the rest followed his example, and ate those cakes. Each guest, according to the custom of the country, had three servants waiting upon him at either side, handing him what he himself could not reach. As, since leaving Pekin, we had not seen our favourite food, fish, on account of our great distance from the seacoast, one of us laid his hand upon a carp, seemingly dressed with syrup sauce, that stood before him. But the carp adhered immovably to the dish, and the servants told us it was put there only for show. We now supposed that the whole set-out was as little designed to be eaten as the carp, and we were to wait for the evening meal. Under this impression we betook us to the cakes and confectionery, with which we drank rice-beer.

“At length the servants removed these tables, bringing in their place two more, similarly covered with felt carpets. Upon the one were five messes

of soup, upon the other from six to ten different kinds of viands. The table-service was entirely metal, and with the soups were given spoons and chopsticks. The soups, besides seeming to be rarities, looked very tempting, and we all attacked them. Their taste was sweet. The poultry and fish upon the second table proved to be of a more useful kind than that of the former show-course. With these dishes also rice-beer was served to us, clear and thick, and both sorts delicious. The servants still urged the guests to eat, till one after another all had excused themselves; then the tables were removed and tea was brought. So luxurious a banquet as this was not again given us during our stay in the capital, but we were daily treated with two meals composed of various dishes. When we rose from our seats Fio-sayemon thus addressed us: 'We have often heard that only at the tables of the princes of our country are served up courses of seven, five, and three dishes. Would we had never been in the way of such an entertainment. But we, in return, must cause *Finomoto's** radiant virtue to reveal itself here. If plain folks like us have been sent under secure escort all the way from Pekin to the King of Chao-sëen's palace, enjoying such exalted protection, we must for that give thanks to the goodness of the Most High.'

"As evening closed in, presents were brought us. Each man received cloths and coverlets, three rolls of white linen, a girdle, a pillow, five quires of Chinese paper, a writing pencil, and three cakes of Indian ink. We expressed to the superintendent our gratitude for these gifts, and our wish that the king might be pleased to allow of our returning home forthwith. He answered that the people in office had just at this moment too much pressing business to take our affair in hand, how willing soever they might be, and that the Japanese must await the new

* An original Japanese name for Japan

year, now only two days distant. He then turned to the Pekin officer and said, 'The Japanese will this day be committed to the care of a person in whose house they may recover from the fatigues of their journey, with minds at ease concerning their future lot.' The leader of the escort replied, that so soon as the Corean government should give orders for conveying the Japanese home, he himself should set out upon his return to Pekin. After saying this he took leave of us, and went with his men to quarters of his own.

"In our new abode our entertainment was so ample, that we told our host it was far from agreeable to us to see him put himself to so much trouble and expense upon our account. He informed us that a merchant undertook for the whole; that he had received five sacks of rice for the board of each one of us, with three more for his own trouble, and was thus sufficiently remunerated. The next day the Corean Kandshung, who had been commanded from on high to bear us company, visited us, and invited us to take a walk."

The description of the capital of Corea, as seen in these excursions, may be passed over, merely mentioning that Kandshung showed the Japanese a library, containing stores of native history and a large collection of Chinese works, designed for the use of the princes and the sons of grandees, and much frequented by men in office. The following day Kandshung deserted them, and they went out alone to see the celebration of the Newyear's festival, which appears not to have been very different from that of the Japanese.

"We deliberated," continues the narrator, "whether we ought not to offer the Newyear's good wishes to those of our Pekin escort who were in the town, thus proving that the favours conferred upon us by the emperor were never to be forgotten. The suggestion was approved, but we could not immediately

agree as to what clothes should be worn. At length Fiosayemon declared his opinion that the most fitting attire would be the fur garments we had received from the emperor, and that the older individuals of the party only should go upon the errand, such visits beseeeming them better than the young. We returned to our lodgings, when the five oldest of our company decked themselves in their fur garments, amid bursts of laughter from their juniors. And, in truth, there was much to laugh at in our envoys, who from the neck downward were good Chinese, with Japanese heads on their shoulders, so that at first sight it was not very clear to which nation they belonged. They therefore, by the advice of their younger companions, put on Korean hats, and thus repaired to the Pekin officer's house, where they duly tendered their congratulations.

"The following day Kandshung came to us. He apologized for his yesterday's absence upon the ground of the many congratulatory visits that the Newyear's festival compelled him to pay, and in compensation for which he now intended to enjoy some comfortable hours with us over a bowl of rice-beer (*sul*)."

Of the long conversation that ensued over this bowl of *sul* (whether that be the Korean name for *sakee*, or, as seems more likely from a subsequent expression, the Korean rice-beer is a different beverage from that of the Japanese), we can only give the more interesting remarks. Kandshung extolled the philosophic King of Chao-sëen and his government, the high value set upon learning, and the general prosperity of the country. He stated that capital punishment was rare; and that, when inflicted, it was necessary to use a Japanese sword, the Korean iron being so bad that no home-made blade could take off a head. When so tried, the Korean sword was obliged to be helped with sharpened bamboos, which made decapitation a fearfully long and cruel

operation. He concluded by observing, "Nippon is a fine country, far advanced beyond all others in the arts." He then questioned Fiosayemon as to what he had seen in Pekin and Tartary.

"Fiosayemon said, 'During our stay in Tartary and Pekin we had no opportunity of seeing the domestic economy of the higher classes, but much of that of the common people. We found that the master of the house sits with his whole family at one table, upon which is placed one large dish of rice or other victuals. From this every one helps himself with his own little dish or porringer, and so eats his morning and evening meals with a spoon or chopsticks. As to poisoning, during the wars of the Tartars against the Ming dynasty it became so common as to be in a manner national; but it is not therefore the less a mark of great baseness to delude with fair words a man whom one hates or envies, and, while abstaining from drawing a sword out of fear for one's own carcass, to put him thus slyly out of the way.' * * * *

"There is much benevolence in the Tartar character. The great treat their inferiors with hearty kindness. The master considers his servants as his children, and they regard him as their common father. He allows them to marry when of suitable age, and maintains both husband and wife. The heart of the Tartar is upright and true; treachery and rapacity are strangers to it. The natives of Pekin (the Chinese), on the contrary, are disobliging, treacherous, and thievish; wherefore most offices are filled by Tartars. * * * *

"We inquired after the *ginseng*, and learned that it is found only in two parts of the mountains between China and Corea, where beasts of prey so abound as to render the collecting of the plant a perilous business. The gatherers must begin by hunting the tigers. * * * *

"We spent the few days of our residence in the capital of Chao-sëen very pleasantly, and the last

night in a *sakee*-drinking party. At dawn of the 7th we took a final leave of our Peking guards, who departed simultaneously with ourselves, and we passed the city gates accompanied by Kandshung, our host, and some Korean acquaintance. Without the gate our horses waited, and we bade farewell.

"On the 11th we reached Dshung-dshen, where we lodged in the house of the governor of this provincial capital. At nightfall and daybreak we were surprised with the sound of music, and learned that it is the custom here for those in authority to call the labourers under their control to their work in the morning, and dismiss them to their rest at night, with music. The sub-officials, and all who receive pay from the state, inscribe upon the cornice of their rooms the consecration names of the rulers of the land, in chronological order, from the founder of the dynasty to the father of the reigning king, adding the years of their reigns and the dates of their deaths respectively. The object of this is that the young, by having it constantly before their eyes, may become familiar with the history of their country. The mercantile men, on the other hand, are more disposed to revere Taou-dshoo-kung, whose picture or bust they exhibit in their houses."

Taou-dshoo-kung is stated by a Japanese annotator to have been a most enterprising, successful, and liberal merchant, who began his career as a political partisan, and, thinking his services ill rewarded, abandoned public life for traffic, settled in Dshung-dshen, and by his boldness and industry accumulated so splendid a fortune, or, rather, so many splendid fortunes, that he distributed his money seven several times among his fellow-townsmen.

"The 16th," says the journalist, "we were lodged in the house of the bailiff of Sin-sats, where we were well treated, and presented at parting with Chinese paper and tobacco. At Shang-dshen we were shown the field of battle where in time past a

Japanese general had gained a great victory. Upon the banks of the river that waters the province of Khing-shang we saw an annual spectacle exhibited. It is a trial of skill in archery. Straw figures are placed in boats in the middle of the stream, and the candidates for admission into the ranks of the archers make their test-shots before the eyes of the assembled people, from whom they receive praise or ridicule, according to their skill. * * * *

“Our vicinity to Fusankai cheered the last day’s journey (the 28th or 29th) ; we passed Shin-tung, and soon reached Fusankai. At the port Pwang-ying were several inns close together, where comely girls were seated, as if for exhibition. As it is contrary to the custom of the country for women to be seen in public, this display struck us, and we questioned our conductors respecting it. They stated that these women were dancing girls, who were dressed out in such gay colours to please the fancy of travellers, and who, moreover, danced, sang, and played upon musical instruments remarkably well. As it had been determined, our place of destination being so near, that we should not halt at Pwang-ying, we rode on, our companions calling out to the ladies that they would return in the evening.

“Dwellings of mechanics, tradesmen, and peasants now formed continuous rows along both sides of the road. At the entrance of the town stands a guardhouse, built by the king for the purpose of excluding the Japanese, who reside without the gates in a quarter of their own. Our countrymen live here in complete seclusion, and only on two days in the year are suffered to leave the quarter assigned them ; namely, upon the 14th and 15th of the seventh month, to visit their temple. Within Nippon-matsi, as this factory is called, no guard or watch is kept. Corean traders are allowed to visit it freely, there to drive their bargains with the Jap-

anese, whose ships yearly frequent this port for commercial purposes.

“At length we entered the Tsuzima factory-house, and were presented to the president, Fooroo-gawoodsi, at the sight of whom we rejoiced, as if already we again beheld father and mother. He received our report of the manner in which we, fifteen Japanese, had fallen into captivity on the Tartar coast, and been thence taken to Peking. He took the travelling papers given us by the Peking authorities and by the King of Chao-sëen. He asked us the proper questions, had everything reduced to writing, and then appointed us an inn, where we were provided with all necessaries. In the harbour lay many vessels ready for sea, and, as soon as the wind was fair, the secretary to the factory put us on board a ship that was carrying troops to Tsuzima.

“By the 17th of the second month we made Wani-ura in Tsuzima, and on the 22d arrived at Futsiu, the capital of the principality, where our papers were taken, and ourselves examined as at Fusan-kai. It was not till the 2d of the sixth month that we left this island, fully clothed in the Japanese garb by the governor. On the 16th we landed at Ohosaka, where the officer who had brought us from Tsuzima conducted us to the official abode of our native prince. His agent ordered some soldiers to take us straight home. Then we were, of course, presented in the first instance to our prince, after which every man hurried to his own house, when the joy of wives, children, parents, and kindred at sight of us amounted wellnigh to phrensy. The families and connexions of our slaughtered companions, meanwhile, covered themselves with mourning garments and offered up the death sacrifice.”

It appears, then, that these returning traders were not punished for their misfortunes, as Japanese similarly situated would be at the present day. Still, the germe of the later and more rigid system

of seclusion exhibits itself in the examinations, forms, and delays that obstructed their return to their families for so many months after they had arrived in their native country, continuing up to the last moment. This is not the least curious illustration of Japanese manners and customs afforded by the foregoing narrative.

Z

NOTES.

NOTE I.—Page 5.

A BRIEF account of the different writers upon Japan, of whom by far the greater number have been consulted in the preparation of the present volume, may satisfy the reader, if not of the perfect authenticity of all the statements it contains, at least that no pains have been spared to authenticate them.

The earliest writers from whom we derive any knowledge of this insular empire are the Jesuit missionaries. They afford much information, but it is for the most part incidentally given, their reports to their superior relating chiefly to their success in making converts, and to the persecutions endured by their flocks and by themselves. These persecutions constitute also the principal subject of the histories of Japan compiled from Jesuit materials by the learned Father Charlevoix, and Cr  ss  t.

The next communications given to the European public respecting Japan, after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1640, consist of a few notices by Dutch voyagers, and Albertus Montanus's *Atlas Japonensis*, professedly a compilation from the journals of several Dutch embassies, the compiler himself having evidently been without any personal knowledge of the country, of a credulous disposition, and somewhat ignorant, as appears from his statements relating to natural history, and to other matters in reference to which we have better means of testing his accuracy. In addition to these, however, is to be noticed an important and very instructive work, though little adapted to the present taste for light and easy reading, K  mpfer's *History of Japan*. His two ponderous folio volumes—ponderous in every sense of the word—contain so much information as to make the reader wonder how the author could have collected it, having spent only two years in Japan, and that when the jealous system against foreigners flourished

in youthful vigour. Kæmpfer was a German physician, attached to the Dutch factory in his professional capacity at the close of the seventeenth century.

In the year 1775, Dr. Thunberg, an eminent Swedish physician and naturalist, was similarly sent to Japan as the medical attendant of the Dezima factory. Like Dr. Kæmpfer, he passed only two years there, during which he was no less diligent than his predecessor in acquiring a knowledge of the country. Upon his return to Europe he published some works upon the natural history of Japan, and four volumes of travels, in which he somewhat fully describes the manners, customs, &c., of that singular empire. He is more amusing, but less instructive than Kæmpfer.

The next works treating of this country appeared after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, and are the Russian Captain Golownin's *Account of his Captivity in Japan*, and his *Recollections of Japan*. The circumstances attending this naval officer's captivity in a remote part of the empire, as mentioned in the chapter upon the attempts of foreigners to open commercial relations with Japan, show that his opportunities for personal observation could have been but few; and as his communications, during the greater part of his confinement, were made and received through the interpretation of a half-savage Kurile, without words or ideas for anything beyond the commonest business of life, it is equally evident that he must have been peculiarly liable to be misinformed on almost every subject. Hence his books, though very entertaining, require to be read with great caution, and his authority is that upon which the least reliance can be placed.

Some twelve or fifteen years later there appeared translations of certain Japanese works. Heer Izaak Titsingh became head of the Dutch factory soon after Dr. Thunberg left Japan, and he seems to have returned more than once to Dezima in the same character. He made large collections of objects of art and specimens of natural history, as also of books, MSS., &c., all of which he brought home, together with different translations from the Japanese. But he died at Paris in 1812, without having either published or prepared for publication any of his literary stores, and his whole collection was dispersed. Several years afterward, the French purchaser of some of Titsingh's manuscripts published in French

his translation of the *Annals of the Ziogoons*, together with other miscellaneous papers; and in 1834 appeared, also in French, his translation of the *Annals of the Dairi*, corrected and edited by Klaproth.

The last-named profound Orientalist had two years previously published his own translation of a Japanese geographical treatise (the character of which, as well as of the *Annals*, is noticed in the chapter upon the language and literature of Japan), and had given to the world his opinion of the Japanese language in his scientific and laborious work, the *Asia Polyglotta*.

We now come to the Dutch and German authors from whose writings the contents of this volume have been chiefly gathered. Of the Dutch works, the first in order is President Meylan's JAPAN, *voorgesteld in Schetsen over de Zeden en Gebruiken van det Ryk, byzonder over de Ingezetenenen der Stad Nagasaki*; in English, "JAPAN, presented in sketches of the manners and customs of that realm, especially of the town of Nagasaki." This work was published in 1830. Meylan, it is understood, has since died in Japan. Warehouse-master Overmeer Fischer's quarto volume, entitled *Bydrage tot Kennis van het Japansche Ryk*, or "Contributions towards obtaining a knowledge of the Japanese empire," appeared in 1833, and was followed in the course of the same year by President Doeff's *Herinnerungen uit JAPAN*, or "Recollections of Japan," which appear to have been called forth by the president's having erroneously conceived that the warehouse-master claimed as the fruit of his own labours a Japanese and Dutch dictionary compiled by the former, professedly for the use of the Japanese interpreters, his copy of which had been lost with his other papers. And here it may be remarked, that, considering his nineteen years' residence at Dezima, far greater stores of information concerning Japan might have been hoped for from Heer Doeff, had he not lost his papers, collections, everything but his own life, in a calamitous shipwreck upon his voyage home. The books have been here named in the order of their publication; but it should be mentioned that Doeff left Japan before either of the other writers reached it, and that Fischer preceded Meylan. Last and most important of all is the German work of Dr. Von Siebold, another factory physician. It is entitled NIPPON, *Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan* (NIPPON, Collection of facts de-

scriptive of Japan), and abounds in curious matter ; the only subject for regret being that the miscellaneous form in which the learned author has, for some unexplained reason, thought fit to publish the result of his researches, without taking the trouble of arrangement, renders his work, at least in its present state, wholly unsuited to translation into English, although invaluable as a mine of information

NOTE II.—Page 19.

The statement of one of the Dutch writers, that the Dutch of the interpreters is so thoroughly Japanese in idiom, grammar, and construction as to be hardly intelligible to a new comer, seems somewhat contradictory to the German assertion of their accurately nice discrimination. The discrepance may perhaps be in some measure reconciled by supposing that this panegyric refers only to their pronunciation ; and although even in this respect it is generally agreed that Japanese organs are so far obtuse as to perceive no difference between the sounds of an H and an F, or of an L and an R, it does not necessarily follow that they should be incapable of distinguishing a German accentuation of Dutch.

NOTE III.—Page 21.

If Montanus, or his English translator Ogilby, is to be credited, a precedent not liable to this objection might have been cited, inasmuch as he states that in 1660 *Oppperhoofd* Indük was not only indulged with the company of his two little children, a boy and a girl, and with the attendance of his Indian domestics, at Dezima, but was allowed to take the former with him to Yedo. The *Atlas Japonensis* cannot, indeed claim much credit when opposed either to other authorities or to common sense ; but as the restriction as to numbers has certainly been gradually increasing, it may be supposed that the exclusion of individuals unnecessary to the conduct of the trade was not always quite as strict as it is at present.

NOTE IV.—Page 28.

Some discrepance as to the number of persons in the factory exists between Doeff and Fischer ; but as the president writes only from recollection, while the warehouse-master had

all his papers and memoranda before him, the authority of the latter has been preferred. It may be here said, once for all, that when trifling disagreements in statement or orthography occur, the writer who appears likely to have been best informed, and especially Dr. Von Siebold, as from his superior education assuredly a more judicious observer than mere mercantile men, has been followed, often without notice of the disagreement.

NOTE V.—Page 34.

These two sovereigns are sometimes very incorrectly termed by European writers the spiritual and temporal emperors. The *mikado* is the generally acknowledged emperor, nominally supreme and absolute alike in spiritual and temporal affairs: the *ziogoon* is a military officer, an hereditary commander-in-chief, professedly the mere lieutenant or vicerent of the *mikado*, although in fact more powerful, and, to borrow Trinculo's phraseology, "viceroy over him." Klaproth says that when the meaning of the title emperor was explained to the Japanese, they were indignant at its application to the *ziogoon*, declaring that there was no emperor in Japan but the *mikado*. Hence it seems difficult to designate these two potentates otherwise than by their Japanese titles, however uncouth to European ears.

NOTE VI.—Page 35.

The mutual recriminations of the Dutch and Portuguese, who impute each to the other the proscription of Christianity and the exclusion of foreigners from Japan, are not now worth investigating. It is likely enough that the accusations of both may be partially just. The Portuguese may have identified themselves to an injudicious extent with the Jesuits; and the progress of conversion, joined to the acknowledgment of the pope's spiritual supremacy by all the proselytes, may have alarmed the government, as interfering with authority derived from the gods of Japan; while the Dutch may have gladly fomented any mistrust or ill-will felt towards their commercial rivals, who, being then subject to the King of Spain, were, moreover, their political as well as their religious enemies. It is very satisfactory to find the view here taken of so obscure and complicated a question very nearly coincident with

the opinion of the able writer who revived these Dutch records of modern Japan in the Quarterly ; and although it is deviating from the plan and object of the present work to introduce into its pages passages from publications that are familiarly known and generally accessible, it may be allowable upon this subject to quote the words alluded to.

“ Few portions of the religious history of the world,” says this writer, “ would be more interesting than a faithful record of these events. In the annals of Christianity few examples have occurred of a triumph so rapid, followed by destruction so complete. Whether the force of circumstances *compelled* the Jesuits, who were agents of that great conversion, to associate themselves with a party in the civil feuds which then distracted Japan, or whether they did so voluntarily, and in pursuance of the alleged practice of their order—of which their first apostle Xavier was a joint founder with Loyola—may be doubtful ; certain it is that in an evil hour they took their part in the dispute, and perished. Japanese tradition attributes to them, as a cause and justification of their fall, rapacity and sensuality. This we doubt. Those vices are usually the attendants of long and undisturbed possession, rather than of the circumstances in which the missionaries of a religion struggling into life were placed. It is likely that the hostilities of their Dutch rivals may have magnified individual instances of such errors, and that the zeal of triumphant persecution may have perpetuated the imputation.”

In corroboration of these remarks it may be added, that the chapter upon Japanese history will show that neither schemes of ambition, nor secret intrigues, nor the vices attributed to the Jesuits were wanted to impel a usurper to adopt such a course as he deemed conducive to his interest or gratifying to his revenge.

NOTE VII.—Page 38.

Every foreign vessel wrecked on the coast, or, if it be incapable of floating, the crew, how remote soever the scene of the disaster, must be brought to Nagasaki, as the only place in the empire where aliens can be even temporarily tolerated. This law is so comprehensive, that even vessels belonging to the Japanese dependencies, as Corea and the Loo Choo Islands, are taken thither for examination, and the crews detained until they can be sent home.

NOTE VIII.—Page 40.

Dr. Von Siebold states, and it would seem to be a natural conclusion, that a *gobanyosi*, or superior police-officer, is by no means a high dignitary in Japanese estimation.

NOTE IX.—Page 55.

The Japanese persist in their preference of the matchlock to the musket; the reason of which the Dutch believe to be neither dulness of perception to the superiority of the latter, nor a prejudicial adherence to what they have been accustomed to, but a deficiency of flintstone in the geological formation of their country, and their determined aversion to dependence upon foreigners for anything essential to their military equipment.

NOTE X.—Page 64.

This is clearly an extra audience, additional to the two mentioned by President Meylan as being the only ones; and it was probably omitted, either because it was not annual, or because he had not as yet been made acquainted with it. He evidently had not performed the Yedo journey when he wrote his sketches.

NOTE XI.—Page 96.

This proclamation is not mentioned by the early writers, and appears to have originated in some acts of piracy committed by Dutch mariners upon the Chinese junks, and the occasional appearance of Dutch vessels at interdicted points, which excited suspicions of their seeking to smuggle Portuguese missionaries into the empire. In fact, the alliance contracted by Holland with Portugal subsequent to the recovery of her independence by the latter kingdom seems to have greatly perplexed the court of Yedo, and created much distrust of the Dutch statements as to the different religious character of the two countries; and hence were drawn up skilfully-arranged interrogatories, resulting in the end, probably, in this proclamation.

NOTE XII.—Page 121.

From a comparison of the accounts given by different wri-

ters, it may be inferred that it is rather the killing of the animal than the eating its flesh which the Japanese so strongly reprobate as an act of base ingratitude. We are told that no repugnance is manifested by the Japanese guests of the Dutch at Dezima to partake at their tables of the beef sent from Java.

NOTE XIII.—Page 162.

From the “every other” must be excepted Montanus and Ogilby. The circumstances which invalidate the authority of the *Atlas Japonensis* have been already stated ; but upon the point in question it is possible that the powerful usurpers to whose times this work refers might do things which the present *ziogoons*, and even the council, would not dream of attempting.

NOTE XIV.—Page 168.

Both Meylan and Fischer, in alluding to this unfortunate visit of the Phaeton to the Bay of Nagasaki, state that Captain Pellew insisted upon a supply of fresh beef as the ransom of his Dutch prisoners, threatening to hang them both in case of refusal ; and that the governor, having out of sheer humanity sacrificed a bullock to save the lives of the two men, killed himself to expiate the sin he had committed in slaughtering the animal. Now, to say nothing of the improbability of a respectable English officer being guilty of an act so idly and foolishly violent and cruel, or of the fact that he did not enter Nagasaki Bay in quest of provisions, his demand of which seems to have been designed merely to open communication with the shore, it is certain that neither Meylan nor Fischer was at Dezima when the affair took place, and that they therefore could know nothing of its details except from hearsay ; while Doeff was not only upon the spot, but one of the chief actors in the scenes preceding the final catastrophe. From the pages of Heer Doeff the narrative in the text is taken, with no other alteration than some considerable compression, the addition of an explanation of Captain Pellew's motives for taking this unlucky step, and the omission of much vituperation directed against that officer, and of his countrymen in general. President Doeff, who assuredly seeks

not to favour England or the English, to whom, on the contrary, he imputes everybody's misdemeanours, and who explicitly states the governor's reasons for committing suicide, says not one word of the demand of beef or of the murder of an ox. The fact seems simply to be, that the tale had, as usual, grown more marvellous by repetition, and that things wholly fictitious had been added to it when told to the later writers.

NOTE XV.—Page 178, line 25.

Whether the *midia's* high birth, as the granddaughter of heaven, and the respect ever paid to the *mikado*, would or would not have protected her from the indignity of a divorce, we are not told ; and the *ziogoon's* threat might imply either legal repudiation, or merely a continuance and increase of previous neglect.

NOTE XVI.—Page 194.

This is not the only instance of a difficulty in regard to the representation of the *ziogoon's* person by his officers. A similar one occurred with the Coreans during Heer Doeff's residence at Dezima. The King of Corea sends to every new *ziogoon* an embassy which the Japanese consider as a mission of homage, though it appears to be, in fact, only one of compliment, being reciprocated by the reigning *ziogoon* upon the accession of every new king of Corea. This Corean embassy formerly repaired to Yedo, and paid its compliments to the monarch in person ; but, upon the accession of the present *ziogoon*, permission to visit the capital was refused, and the Corean ambassadors were required to present themselves before the Prince of Tsuzima, who is considered the immediate superior of Corea, and who is said to have a garrison as well as factory in the peninsula. This the Coreans refused to do, looking upon it as a degradation, and claiming admission to the court at Yedo as before : for several years the dispute remained unsettled, and the homage or compliment unpaid. At length the expedient was devised of sending the Prince of Kokura, grand treasurer of the empire, accompanied by the grand accountant (the Japanese chancellor of the exchequer, it is to be presumed), to Tsuzima, as special representatives of

the *ziagoon*, to receive the Corean homage embassy, and with this representation of majesty they were content. The Yedo deputation visited Heer Doeff at Dezima in the course of the journey, and by these *grande*s he was informed of the difficulty and its settlement.

NOTE XVII.—Page 214.

It may be worthy of mention that the Coreans possess such dictionaries, in which the words are arranged by the matter, not according to the orthography, and are formed into stanzas, usually of six lines with four syllables in each, rhyming either in couplets or alternately. Another striking proof that the literature as well as the religion of China was introduced into Japan through Corea, now so far behind both empires in civilization, is, that the Japanese dialect of Chinese closely resembles the Corean.

NOTE XVIII.—Page 220.

It is possible that the combination may be neither by addition nor multiplication—not arithmetical, but graphic—that is, a combination of the several Chinese characters denoting the names of the elements and of the signs of the zodiac.

NOTE XIX.—Page 225.

A story told by Meylan of the proficiency of the Japanese artists some two centuries ago, may startle those who have read the opinions of other writers upon Japan, or seen their plates. He relates, that when the ceremony of trampling on the image of the Virgin and her child was first instituted, there being a scarcity of European pictures for this purpose, a Japanese painter was ordered to make a copy of one of them, and this he did so perfectly that his painting was not distinguishable from the original. It is to be observed, however, that the president never saw the copy himself, and that the *connoisseurs* who pronounced upon its merits were all Japanese. The portraits of the Portuguese discoverers, by showing the state of the graphic art in Japan much less than a century prior to the time when this copy must have been made, will enable the reader to appreciate the value of this statement. But, whatever may have been the merits of his per-

formance, the painter was rewarded with decapitation, probably to guard against his supplying the native Christians with similar copies for a different object.

NOTE XX.—Page 226.

Dr. Von Siebold's Japanese museum is said to be far richer, and in every respect superior to the Japanese rooms in the Royal Museum at the Hague. Unfortunately at the time the writer of this volume visited Leyden, partly for the purpose of inspecting specimens of the arts, manufactures, and productions of Japan, reputed to be the finest in Europe, the museum was packed up for change of location, and the doctor himself absent.

NOTE XXI.—Page 227.

Grinding with a reed or rush may appear strange; but Fischer's words, *met een fynen steen of bies af geslepen*, admit not of a different translation, the dictionary affording no other signification of *bies* than rush or reed. If we may suppose the warehouse-master, or the interpreters through whom he must have obtained his information, to have included the bamboo among reeds, the difficulty will be considerably diminished.

NOTE XXII.—Page 243.

Such is the general character of Buddhism at the present day, and in Japan its essential idolatry appears to be now its principal and peculiar recommendation. But, in common fairness, such a statement should not be made without noticing the more favourable opinion of a late eminent Orientalist. Lieutenant-colonel Tod strongly inclined to the opinion that Buddhism was originally monotheistic, and its idolatry a later corruption—even that Brahminism may have been another sectarian corruption of pure Buddhism. He speaks, too, of one monotheistic sect of Buddhists still existing in Western India, which seems to have much analogy with the *Ikko-sen* Buddhists found by Siebold at Yagami.

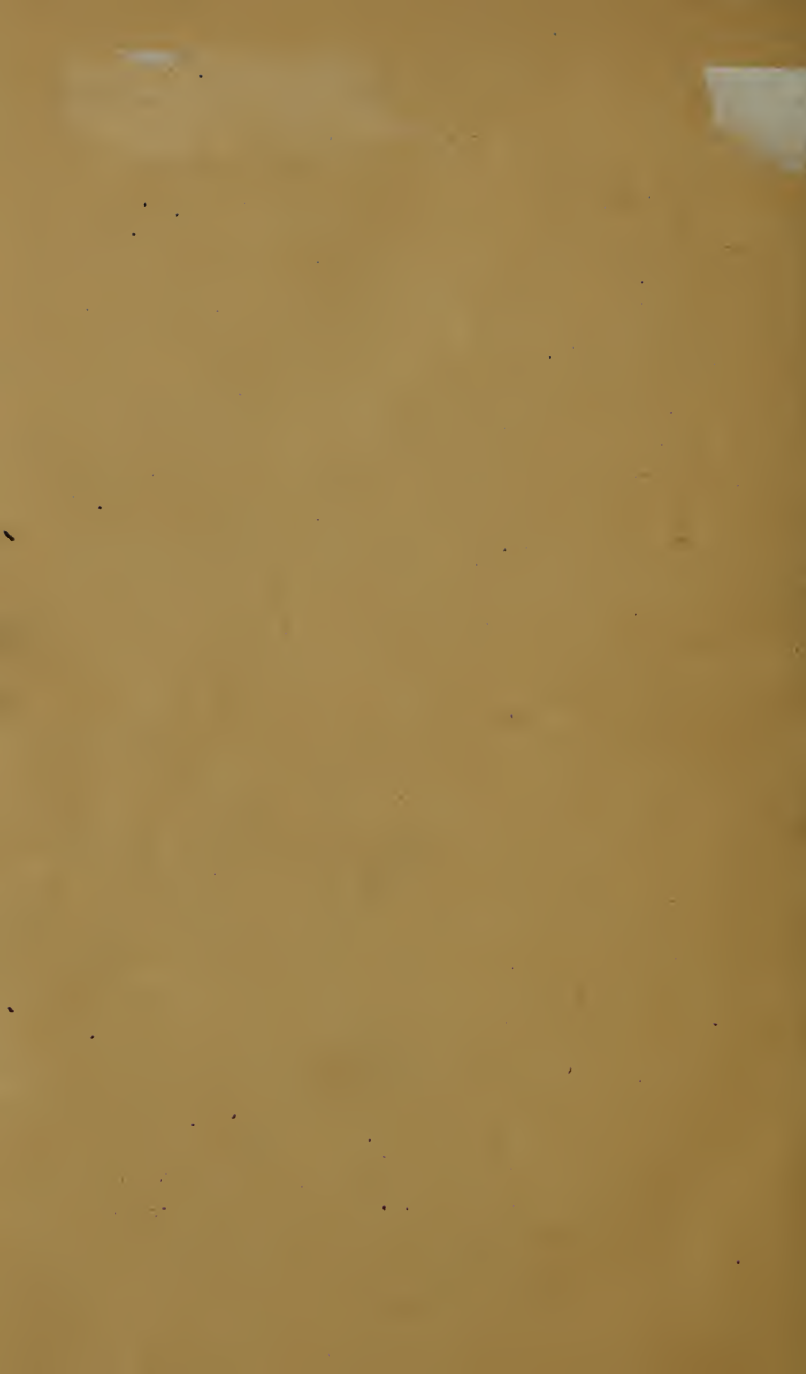
NOTE XXIII.—Page 256.

It has been said that *zima* means an island; whence it fol-

lows that Siebold's expression, "the island of Tanegazima," is tautological. But in translating a language, and in speaking of a country, so little known as Japan, such tautology could hardly be avoided except at the cost of perspicuity. It may here be added, that some of the Japanese annalists speak earlier of *Nanban* ships—the name given to the Portuguese vessels a few lines lower; but the word *Nanban*, taken from the Chinese, signifying generally barbarians, *i. e.*, strangers from the south, they may as well have meant vessels from the Indian peninsulas or archipelago as from Europe.

NOTE XXIV.—Page 274.

The locality of their disaster the captives afterward more accurately ascertained to be Olankai, lying to the north of Corea, and forming part of the Mantchoo government of Kirin.





~~51107 20144 0020~~

